7-1-1994

Children's Understanding of the Emotions of Victims and Victimizers: Developmental and Peer Status Differences

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CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE EMOTIONS OF VICTIMS AND VICTIMIZERS: DEVELOPMENTAL AND PEER STATUS DIFFERENCES

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Psychology

Western Kentucky University

Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Educational Specialist

by

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July, 1994

CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE EMOTIONS OF VICTIMS AND VICTIMIZERS: DEVELOPMENTAL AND PEER STATUS DIFFERENCES

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Acknowledgments

Many individuals are responsible for the completion of this project. I would like to express my gratitude to the members of my committee: Dr. Elizabeth Lemerise, Dr. Elizabeth Jones, and Dr. John Bruni. I would especially like to thank my chairperson, Dr. Elizabeth Lemerise, for the inestimable amounts of assistance she contributed by reading numerous drafts of this thesis, helping to collect data, teaching me about statistical analysis, and most of all, believing that I could complete this project when no one else did (including myself). The support she gave is truly immeasurable. With regards to the analysis of the data, I would like to thank Dr. John Bruni and Mark Graves. Each contributed many hours in the analysis of a great deal of data. I would also like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Jones for the many hours she contributed in reading this and helping with the tables.

I would like to express my thanks to the undergraduate and graduate students who helped in the collection and coding of the data: Brent Bacher, Dan Diehl, Eric Pickett, Vesteen Williams, Lisa Greenfield, Matt Merkel, Kellie Murphy, Chris Matthews, Shelly Cosby, Angie Pyle, Kelly Turner, and Steve Scott. Without the help of these students, who contributed many hours to data collection and coding, this project would never have been completed. In addition, I would like to thank the Warren County Board of Education for permitting data collection in the Warren County schools. Special thanks goes to the principal of Warren Elementary, Mr. Franklin, who permitted the primary classrooms to participate in this project. The cooperation of the primary teachers, parents, and students at Warren Elementary is also greatly appreciated. Many daycares and preschools also participated including Western Kentucky University Head Start, Kinder Kollege, First Baptist, Stepping Stones, Wonderland, Small World, and Miss

Jean's. The cooperation of the staffs, parents, and children of those who participated is greatly appreciated.

On a more personal level, I would like to thank my husband, Steve. Not only did he help to collect data, but he also provided moral support from the beginning of this project until its end. He worked with me to learn how to analyze data and helped me to construct each and every table. My family has likewise provided support and encouragement through every phase of this project. Without the love, patience, and encouragement of my husband and family, I definitely would never have finished this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Children's Understanding of the Emotions of Victims and Victimizers: Developmental and Peer Status Differences

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Research has shown that children's standing in the peer group is an extremely valid predictor of later developmental problems. Children who are rejected by their peers and who exhibit aggressive behavior have a poor developmental prognosis; these rejected/aggressive children often have problems throughout development and into adulthood. The correlates of peer rejection include distinctive behavioral and social cognitive patterns. Research has shown that rejected/aggressive children's thinking about social situations with peers contributes to a pattern of antisocial behavior. In particular, rejected/aggressive children demonstrate deficits in each of the stages of the social information processing model proposed by Dodge (1986). Research has produced findings suggesting that the information processing of rejected/ aggressive children is very similar to that of children much younger than themselves.

Previous studies in children's understanding of emotions have uncovered a phenomenon named the "happy victimizer" effect. Research has shown that many children, from 4 to 8 years old, expect a child who has victimized another child to feel happy following the victimization. The youngest children have especially been found to rationalize the happiness experienced by the victimizer in terms of the acquisition of the material outcome, with little regard for the harm to the victim. Tasks have been developed to study the "happy victimizer" effect,

and that also examine one of the stages in Dodge's (1986) social information processing model, the Response Evaluation stage.

The purpose of this study was to test further the deficits of aggressive children in the response evaluation stage of information processing and to gain further insights into the developmental changes in children's understanding of emotional consequences. Both age and peer status differences were predicted. A total of 443 children from 4 to 9 years were included in the study. In the first phase of the experiment, subjects participated in sociometric interviews and were classified into five peer status groups, based on social preference scores and aggression nominations. Subjects then participated in a structured interview used by Arsenio and Kramer (1992). This interview format was used to study children's understanding of the mixed emotional consequences which follow victimization of another child.

Results suggested clear developmental differences in children's understanding of mixed emotional consequences. Findings support the theory of an attributional shift which occurs as children gain the ability to understand simultaneously occurring, opposite valence emotions. The oldest children generally demonstrated the highest level of moral reasoning. Results also suggested limited support for the hypotheses regarding peer status. Peer status effects were noted in children's attributions of emotions of victimizers following victimization and the rationales children used to explain victimizers' emotions. Children classified as accepted/aggressive generally demonstrated the highest level of moral reasoning.

Chapter I
Introduction

The Importance of Peer Relations

A substantial body of research has been devoted to examining the role of peer relations in child development. The relationships children have with their peers are important sources of support as well as vital means for gaining self-esteem. The research suggests that children who differ in acceptance by the peer group actually behave differently. For example, the following attributes are associated with acceptance by the peer group: friendliness, cooperativeness, involvement in prosocial interactions with others, and engaging in helping behavior (Coie, Dodge, & Kupersmidt, 1990; Newcomb, Bukowski, & Pattee, 1993). However, aggressiveness and disruptive behavior are associated with rejection by the peer group (Coie et al., 1990; Newcomb et al., 1993). These patterns are pervasive for children as young as four years. As children get older, their conceptualizations of various attributes become more differentiated and less overt (Coie et al., 1990). For example, aggression for four year olds may mean a child who commits overt acts of aggression like hitting other children. For a sixth grader, however, aggression may be more subtle, in that the child perceived as aggressive may make malicious comments about others. Nevertheless, the preceding attributes and descriptors describe differences in the way accepted and rejected children behave.

Obviously, acceptance by the peer group is salient to children in school. The effects of peer rejection during the school years may be seen in poor school adjustment for rejected children as well as reports of loneliness by rejected children (Asher & Wheeler, 1985; Ladd, 1990). Coie (1990) proposed that the effects of unsuccessful experiences in the peer group, i.e., being the target of aggression, experiencing loneliness, and developing a deviant social reputation, create stress for the rejected child. The added stress due to peer rejection may affect the development of maladjusted behavior because it limits the rejected child's resources for support as well as limiting opportunities to enhance social skills. Research also suggests a higher incidence of many problems for children who are rejected by the peer group and who are aggressive. In addition, the effects of poor social status do not stop at the end of the school years. Relationships have been found between poor social status and later problems in adulthood.

Peer Group Status as a Predictor of Future Problems

Research has shown that children's standing in the peer group is an extremely valid predictor of later developmental problems (Asher & Hymel, 1981; Kupersmidt, Coie, & Dodge, 1990; Parker & Asher, 1987). Granted, some studies which address this relationship have methodological problems. When these methodological problems are eliminated, however, a strong relationship between peer rejection and later problems in adulthood still exists (Kupersmidt et al., 1990; Parker & Asher, 1987). Further, this relationship stands when different experimental designs are used. Within these studies, the following outcomes have been associated with poor peer relations: schizophrenia, nonspecified mental health problems, juvenile and adult criminal behavior, truancy, and school dropout.

Studies which examine the relationship between poor peer relations and schizophrenia typically utilize a follow-backward design in which they look at the school records of adult patients whom they know to be schizophrenic. Considerable evidence has been found that a significant number of adult schizophrenic patients had problems with peers in childhood, mainly consisting of withdrawal from peers (Bower, Shellhamer, & Dailey, 1960). Evidence surfaced that more preschizophrenic adolescents had problems relating to peers than control subjects. No direct sociometric evidence on peer rejection is available. As stated previously, most of the data in this area was follow-backward; consequently, no causal link may be obtained. A second correlate found to coincide with poor peer relations is nonspecified mental health problems. Cowen, Pederson, Babigian, Izzo, and Trost (1973) conducted a long-term follow-up of children who had been detected as "vulnerable." Those later seeking mental health services had proportionately more negative peer nominations than controls.

Criminality has also been found to correlate with poor peer relations. Follow-backward studies evidence a relationship between peer rejection in childhood and subsequent delinquency. Most research in this area has yielded follow-up data rather than follow-back data. There are still methodological limitations in the way "criminality" or "delinquency" is defined. For example, differences may be found based on whether the offense is categorized as legal, detected, agency, alleged, or adjudicated (Parker & Asher, 1987). In M. Roff's (1975) data and the data derived from the M. Roff, Sells, and Golden research (1972), results indicated that children with very low peer group status are 1 1/2 to 2 times more likely to become delinquent prior to age 14. Research involving clinic boys who were reported by their teachers as having poor peer relations found that boys with poor peer relations were more likely than other referred

boys to be arrested in young adulthood (Janes, Hesselbrock, Myers, & Penniman, 1979). Again, a relationship appears to surface between poor peer relations and criminal or delinquent behavior.

Finally, a relationship exists between being rejected by peers in school and early school dropout. In the follow-back studies done in this area, evidence appears that high school dropouts have more problems in peer relations than do high school graduates (Parker & Asher, 1987). Follow-up studies also report this trend. In one study (Gronlund & Holmlund, 1958), a drop out rate for low accepted boys was found to be approximately 2 1/2 times greater than for high accepted boys. In another study utilizing a clinic sample (Janes et al., 1979), boys identified by their teachers as having poor peer relations showed a drop out rate twice as high as other referred boys who were not reported as having peer difficulties.

Again, although there is considerable evidence which supports poor peer relations as a predictor for later problems, there is no causal link. Three primary hypotheses exist which attempt to explain the relationship between peer rejection and development of maladjustment in adulthood. The first hypothesis states that peer rejection is merely a "marker variable." In other words, peer rejection may indeed predict later problems. A third variable, however, may be causing both peer rejection and later problems. A second hypothesis concerning this relationship posits that peer acceptance or rejection may have a "moderating role." Consequently, social acceptance from peers may protect a child from the emergence of maladjustment in adulthood by providing opportunities for self-esteem enhancement or opportunities for adaptive development. Social rejection, however, may subject the vulnerable child to additional stresses inherent in being rejected by peers as well as the isolation involved with this rejection (Kupersmidt et al., 1990). If there is indeed a causal

link, efforts may be put forth to identify the social skills which contribute to the formation of positive peer relations as well as to the training of social skills within the school setting (Parker & Asher, 1987).

A third hypothesis suggests a causal relationship between social rejection and maladaptive outcomes in adulthood. Perhaps it is the experiences a child encounters with peers who accept him/her that facilitate positive adjustment. Likewise, social rejection may actually cause a child to develop maladaptive strategies. Another possible explanation for the proposed causal link between peer relations and adjustment in adulthood is that rejection induces internal reactions in the child that promote antisocial outcomes (Kupersmidt et al., 1990). Though no information has been gleaned regarding which hypothesis most adequately explains this complex relationship, research does seem to indicate a salient relationship, whether it is causal or correlational. Nonetheless, identification of those children who are rejected by the peer group is imperative, due to the relationship with future maladaptive behavior which is found repeatedly throughout the literature.

Measurement of Peer Group Status

In order to target the children who are at risk for future problems, researchers have undertaken many methods. Though researchers derive data from a variety of sources, including peers, teachers, and direct observations, evaluation by peers is seen as an invaluable tool for assessing peer status (Coie et al., 1990). Since peer status is actually determined by the peer group, peers' assessments reflect the most valid perspective. Teachers are often not present during the peer interactions which may be the most important in determining status within the peer group. For example, during recess when children have the least amount of behavioral restraints and are free to play with those whom they choose, teachers may not be present. Teachers may also be influenced by

how the children interact with other adults rather than focusing strictly on their interactions with peers. Lastly, teachers' judgments of social status may be influenced by a child's academic achievement or the socioeconomic status of the child. The children, however, are aware of the subtle and overt interactions that are salient in the determination of social status. Though direct observation, when done prior to sociometric assessment, may provide valuable supplementary information, the observer often misses the private interactions. Also, the observer may, by his/her presence, create an unnatural situation which may influence the interactions between the children. Hence, children are the best informants to assess social status of their peers.

Sociometric assessment is one way in which children are identified by their peers in terms of social status (Asher & Hymel, 1981). This type of assessment is conducted in two ways: peer nominations and peer rating scale. The peer nomination measure involves having children nominate a certain number of their peers based on certain criteria. For example, children may be asked to nominate the three children in the classroom with whom they like most to play. Conversely, children may be asked a question using negative sociometric criteria such as "Name the three children that you don't like to play with very much." The score that each child receives is the number of positive and negative nominations he/she receives from peers. Children receiving the greatest number of positive nominations may be classified as popular children while those receiving the greatest number of negative nominations may be generally classified as rejected children. Another type of sociometric assessment involves children rating each of their classmates according to some specified criteria. For example, children may rate each child in the class from 1 to 5 according to how much they like to play with him/her. Low numbers would indicate "don't like to" and high numbers would indicate "like to very much."

Scores yielded from this method come from averaging the ratings received by all of a specific child's classmates.

Although sociometric data provides invaluable information about children's status within the peer group, the actual behaviors which are typically displayed by children and contribute to peer status are not assessed. Consequently, many researchers have supplemented sociometric data with behavioral assessments (Dodge, 1991). Many types of methodologies have been employed in order to examine the behavioral correlates of peer status. Naturalistic observation, for example, involves merely observing children as they naturally interact with their peers. Although important information may be gained from direct observation, the act of observing may create an artificial situation. The strongest correlation between observational data and sociometric status has been found with preschool aged children (Dodge, 1991). A second type of behavioral assessment which has supplemented sociometric data involves assessment in analogue situations. For example, situations that are difficult to naturally observe are arranged and then analyzed based on the types of behaviors which are exhibited.

A final type of behavioral assessment which is frequently used in conjunction with sociometric data is the peer assessment method. Children assess their peers' behavior in either an open-ended or a structured interview format. Using an open-ended format, researchers may simply ask children to describe certain liked or disliked peers (Peevers & Secord, 1973). A structured interview is more commonly used to supplement sociometric data (Asher & Hymel, 1981). Basically, children are asked specific closed-ended questions involving various behaviors. An example of a structured interview question which commonly supplements sociometric interviews follows: "Who are the three children who fight the most with other children? They may push or hit or

say mean things to other kids." Other questions commonly involve shy behavior and prosocial behavior. Structured interview questions have been found to correlate with teacher ratings and direct observational data (Dodge, 1991).

From very young ages, children's standing within the peer group may be assessed validly. In fact, children as young as four years have undergone sociometric assessment as well as supplementary questions involving the behavior of their peers. Though the peer nomination technique is not as reliable when used with preschoolers, the peer rating scale is seen as highly reliable when used with this group. Asher, Singleton, Tinsley, and Hymel (1979) examined the test-retest reliabilities of positive nomination, negative nomination, and rating scale measures when used with preschoolers. Their results indicated that the rating scale method, when used with preschoolers, provides more highly stable results (r=.81) than either the positive nomination (r=.56) or the negative nomination (r=.42). Regardless of the method that is used, status differences have been found with preschool aged children.

Some researchers have questioned the ethics involved in the negative nomination technique of sociometric assessment, i.e., asking children to explicitly state the names of children with whom they do not like to play (Asher & Hymel, 1981). Some have proposed that through this nominating act, the children may actually come to view the negatively nominated children even more negatively. Many also have feared that nominating these children makes the negative aspects of the children more salient and may result in increased ostracism for the negatively nominated children (Bell-Dolan, Foster, & Sikora, 1989). Because of this controversy, researchers have conducted studies to examine the effects of sociometric nominations on the children who have been involved in the process. Hayvren and Hymel (1984) used behavioral observations of the peer interactions of preschoolers who had participated in

positive and negative peer nomination procedures. They found that the preschoolers did interact more with most preferred peers than least preferred peers in the time following the sociometric assessment (an indication of the validity of the positive nominations). However, there was no difference in the frequency of negative interactions with most and least preferred peers, suggesting that the sociometric testing did not negatively affect children's social interactions with peers. Likewise, a more in-depth study examined the effects of positive and negative peer nomination on interaction with peers, interaction with preferred and nonpreferred playmates, and ratings of mood and loneliness in school (Bell-Dolan et al., 1989). This study, sampling from fifth-graders, involved behavioral observations both before and after the peer nomination task, as well as the children completing a mood and loneliness questionnaire. Results again provided no evidence of negative effects.

Although no evidence exists that negative peer nominations have negative effects on children, some school personnel and researchers still view this procedure as being potentially harmful. Consequently, an alternative procedure has been used with children; the procedure combines positive nominations with rating scale measures (Asher & Dodge, 1986). With this method, a high percentage of rejected children were accurately identified without the use of negative nominations. The advantage of using a positive nomination and a rating scale is that children are not blatantly asked to nominate children with whom they do not like to play. Instead, children are asked to rate each of their classmates on a Likert-type scale (e.g., 1 - 5) based on how much they like to play or work with each. The number of times that a child receives ratings of 1 may be substituted for the negative nomination. A positive nomination question is used in conjunction with the rating scale.

Sociometric techniques, including peer nominations and peer rating scales, have been used on thousands of children by a number of researchers and constitute standard accepted methodology. The information that may be derived from these procedures has been found to be extremely stable over time (Asher & Hymel, 1981); therefore, studying this phenomenon may be the first step in helping the children who are at high risk for later problems.

Social Information Processing Deficits in Aggressive Children

As stated earlier, rejection by the peer group is related to children's behavioral patterns in childhood and contributes to a pattern of antisocial or maladjusted behavior. This deviant pattern of behavior manifested by rejected aggressive children may be explained in great part by their thinking about social situations. Dodge and Feldman (1990) discuss a leading hypothesis among researchers in this area: "Children who are deficient or deviant in the way that they process social information may have a difficult time behaving competently with peers, which, in turn, may lead them to be viewed negatively by the peer group." (p.119). Much of the research in this area has been driven by a model of social information processing proposed by Dodge (1986). Dodge contends that social information processing occurs in a series of steps including the following: encoding of relevant cues, interpretation of cues, response search, response evaluation, and enactment of cues.

Rejected/aggressive children have been found to exhibit deficits in each of these steps. These deficits are thought to have profound effects on rejected/aggressive children's subsequent behavior and, in fact, may lead to further aggressive acts due to the inadequacy of their social information processing. It has been further suggested that the deficits demonstrated by rejected/aggressive children are a function of a developmental delay. For example, studies have produced findings suggesting that the information

processing of rejected/aggressive children is very similar to that of children much younger than themselves (Dodge & Frame, 1982).

Dodge (1991) reviewed evidence for each of his five stages of social information processing (Dodge, 1986). The first stage, encoding, involves reception and encoding of situational cues, some of which require more attention than others. Past research has shown that aggressive children attend to fewer cues than other children before they proceed with the subsequent information processing steps (Dodge & Newman, 1981). The second stage of the social information processing model, interpretation, involves assigning meaning to the encoded cues. The cues are matched to the possible interpretations that are available in long-term memory. A great deal of research has been undertaken in this area; these studies have revealed that aggressive children have a hostile attribution bias. In other words, given an ambiguous situation, they are more likely to interpret another's intentions as hostile than as benign (Dodge, 1980; Dodge & Coie, 1987; Dodge and Frame, 1982; Dodge, Murphy, & Buchsbaum, 1984; Keane & Parrish, 1992). Response search is the third stage in the social information processing model. Potential behavioral responses are accessed from long-term memory; these responses depend on the number of available responses, associative networks in memory, and recency. Children who generate a high proportion of aggressive responses are likely to behave in a similar manner toward their peers (Feldman & Dodge, 1987). Response evaluation, the fourth stage, involves evaluation of accessed responses against various criteria until a response is selected. This stage will be reviewed in greater detail below, as it will be the focus of the proposed research. Finally, the enactment stage involves translation of the chosen response into actual behavior. Aggressive children have been likewise shown to exhibit deficits in this stage of social information processing as their behavior in a peer group

entry situation is often less competent than that of average children (Dodge, Pettit, McClaskey, & Brown, 1986).

Although rejected/aggressive children have been found to display deficits in each social information processing stage, they do not behave deficiently in all situations (Dodge, Coie, & Brakke, 1982). Dodge, McClaskey, and Feldman (1985), through their study of variation in the quality of children's cognitions across situations, found that situations involving peer provocations are likely to elicit deficient social information processing deficits in rejected/aggressive children. In order to study social information processing differences in rejected/aggressive children, Dodge and Feldman (1990) further recommended that the following conditions be met when using peer provocation situations as stimuli: use relevant situational stimuli and assess social cognitions that are important to the child. Threatening situations should be targeted, for example, as status effects clearly emerge in this situation. Thus, the deficits and biases which have been shown to exist in rejected/aggressive children appear specific to certain situations.

Response Evaluation Stage

Of the social information processing stages which have been shown to reveal differences in the processing of rejected/aggressive children, the response evaluation stage remains far less studied. This stage examines children's skill in evaluating the consequences and outcomes of solutions. In one study examining social status differences in response evaluation, Deluty (1983) found differences in the ways that aggressive children evaluate responses in interpersonal conflict situations. Aggressive behaviors were rated significantly more positively by aggressive children. Likewise, aggressive children were more likely to regard aggressive behaviors as those which they

should display and those which would produce positive results for both themselves and for the ones to whom the behaviors were directed. Asarnow and Callan (1985) studied differences between children with positive and negative peer statuses in their ability to do the following: a) generate alternative solutions to problems; b) evaluate possible solutions; c) describe self statements if they had carried out their proposed solutions; and d) rate the likelihood of possible self statements. Boys with negative peer statuses evaluated physical aggression responses significantly more positively and positive responses more negatively than did boys with positive social statuses.

In other research on the response evaluation stage, aggressive children were found to attach more importance to rewarding outcomes of aggressing and less value to the negative outcomes of aggressing than were nonaggressive children (Boldizar, Perry, & Perry, 1989; Perry, Perry, & Rasmussen, 1986). Crick and Ladd (1987) conducted research which investigated how children perceive the outcomes of social strategies. They examined differences between the ways that popular, average, neglected, and rejected third and fifth-graders evaluate the outcomes of social strategies. Children were asked to describe the likely outcomes of different strategies including physical aggression, commands, and compromise. Results indicated that peer status was a significant factor in explaining differences among children in their outcome expectations as well as their strategy evaluations. For example, aggressive children made more positive evaluations of instrumental and interpersonal outcomes of aggressing as well as the moral value of their chosen strategy of aggression than did other children.

The limited research that has been conducted on the response evaluation stage of social information processing supports the assertion that low status or rejected/aggressive children are deviant in evaluating possible responses, particularly when aggressive responses are evaluated in situations of peer

conflict. No research exists, however, on social status differences in evaluating the emotional consequences of various strategies. These emotional consequences are an integral factor in response evaluation. Extending research into this area will give further information on differences in the ways that children of different social statuses process information. From this, further insight may be gained into the subsequent aggressive behavior of socially rejected children.

The proposed study extends research on the response evaluation stage to include evaluation of the emotional consequences of aggressing from the perspective of the victim and the victimizer in an aggressive act. Research evaluating peer status differences in social information processing has shown that aggressive children view instrumental and interpersonal outcomes of aggressing more positively than other children (Crick & Ladd, 1987). But how do children of different social statuses differ in their expectations of the emotional consequences caused by aggression? If there is a difference in this expectation for aggressive children, we may gain greater understanding into their subsequent aggressive behavior.

Happy Victimizer Effect

Throughout the literature, a phenomenon known as the "happy victimizer" effect has been frequently studied. Findings have revealed that many children from ages 4 through 8 have expectations that those who commit acts which violate moral rules will experience positive emotions following the acts. This effect has been frequently noted when situations are described to children which involve one child victimizing another child. When children are presented with situations in which one child intentionally wrongs another child, for example, many 4 through 8 year olds judge the victimizers to feel happy. It has been suggested that children, especially those of the youngest ages, are influenced

more strongly by the acquisition of the desired outcome than the harm to the victim.

Research has additionally uncovered an apparent "attrubutional shift" in which preschool aged children expect victimizers to feel positive feelings following victimization, but some older children (8 year olds) begin to make judgments that victimizers will feel negative emotions after hurting another child. Even when harm to the victim is made extremely salient, preschoolers continue to judge the emotions of victimizers as positive. Older children, in contrast, are more likely to focus on the harm to the victim and the moral concerns involved in victimization (Arsenio & Kramer, 1992; Harter & Buddin, 1987; Nunner-Winkler & Sodian, 1988).

Many hypotheses have been formulated to explain this apparent "attributional shift" or developmental trend, where older children are more likely to consider factors besides the acquisition of material outcomes when making judgments about how victimizers would feel after victimization. One hypothesis which has been generated involves preschool-aged children's simply not having the knowledge of moral rules which older children have. In other words, preschoolers may not realize that it's wrong to push another child off of a swing in order to obtain a desired swing. This hypothesis seems unlikely, however, based on the findings of Turiel (1983). In a study assessing preschoolers' knowledge of the moral rules regarding lying, stealing, and breaking a promise, preschoolers were found to be aware of these fundamental moral rules.

A second hypothesis which has been posited involves young children's lack of ability to conceptualize two emotions which conflict with one another. For example, an 8 year old child may judge emotions of a victimizer after an act such as stealing from a friend to be conflicting: the victimizer feels happy because he obtained the coveted object but sad because his friend is hurt. The argument

suggested in this hypothesis is that 4 year olds may not have the ability to understand two different valence, conflicting emotions about the same event. Research has shown that young children will often opt for the more positive or "good" feelings whenever a person is likely to be in emotional conflict. Consequently, when young children cannot conceptualize conflicting, simultaneous emotions, they may not be neglecting morality in choosing the positive feelings; the "good bias" may simply be operating due to cognitive constraints in understanding conflicting emotions (Harris, 1983).

A final hypothesis which has been suggested in order to explain the "happy victimizer" effect is that young children may understand simultaneously existing, conflicting emotions, but be unable to express their understanding. In other words, young children may possess linguistic constraints which prevent them from showing the depth of their understanding of emotional consequences.

Although a consensus has not been reached regarding the "happy victimizer" phenomenon, recent research provides support for the hypothesis which suggests an attributional shift in children's ability to understand conflicting emotions. Even with different types of methodologies, young children appear to expect positive feelings to follow intentional acts which violate moral rules. A brief review of specific studies in which clear developmental differences were found in children's ability to understand emotional consequences follows.

Barden, Zelko, Duncan, and Masters (1980) evaluated differences among children in kindergarten, third, and sixth grades, in their attribution of emotional states caused by social experiences. In this study, the social experiences were portrayed by vignettes. Definite developmental trends emerged between the youngest children and older children. Significantly, in a vignette portraying dishonesty which was not detected, the youngest children attributed significantly

more happy responses, while older children were more likely to choose a scared response.

In a study specifically evaluating children's understanding of simultaneously existing emotions, Harter and Buddin (1987) explored a possible developmental acquisition sequence through which children progress. Researchers predicted that the acquisition sequence would first involve attribution of same valence emotions to the same target. Next, same valence emotions would be ascribed to different targets. The third step in the sequence involves attributing different valence emotions to different targets. The final stage involves the attribution of different valence emotions to the same target. The stimuli used in the study involved photographs of faces depicting positive and negative emotions. Children were asked to choose pictures representing each of the following combinations of emotions: same valence emotions to the same target; same valence emotions to different targets; different valence emotions to different targets; and different valence emotions to the same target. Researchers found a definite developmental acquisition sequence in children's understanding of simultaneously existing emotions. Children attributed same and different valence emotions to targets in the developmental sequence predicted by Harter and Buddin (1987).

Nunner-Winkler and Sodian (1988) explored developmental differences in children's ability to attribute emotion to a story figure who violated a moral rule. Studying 4 through 8 year olds, they found that most 4 year olds judged the transgressor to feel positive emotions, rationalizing their feelings based on the outcome of the situation. A developmental trend emerged, as older children began to focus more on the moral rule that was violated when rationalizing why the transgressor would experience a particular emotion. Results of this study

support an attributional shift from the outcome orientation of younger children to the greater emphasis on moral concerns of older children.

Finally, Arsenio and Kramer (1992) attempted to evaluate the developmental trend that had been reported in the literature. Their position, prior to the research, was that perhaps there is no developmental trend or attributional shift. Instead, perhaps the methodology of the past research had been insufficient to overcome the linguistic constraints of younger children in expressing their understanding of emotion. Consequently, past researchers had chosen an attributional shift theory, when it may have been methodological limitations which made younger children appear to lack understanding. By increasing the salience of harm to the victim and using probe questions to assess the perceived emotions of victimizers, Arsenio and Kramer (1992) hoped to create a study where younger children would not be penalized due to their constraints in expressing their understanding.

Using 4, 6, and 8 year olds, Arsenio and Kramer (1992) examined children's ability to attribute mixed emotions to a victimizer. They used line drawings which portrayed two peer provocation scenarios. After exposing children to these drawings, they asked each child how the victim and the victimizer were feeling, how intensely the victim and victimizer were feeling the reported feeling, and the rationales behind the feelings of each. Then, for the questions involving victimizers only, a series of probes was used which asked if the victimizer could possibly be feeling anything besides the emotion they had originally chosen. In their study, again, the victim was made more salient than in previous studies of this "happy victimizer" effect. Likewise, the probes were used in order to eliminate the confound that cognitive constraints of young children may limit their ability to express their expectations.

Results of the Arsenio and Kramer (1992) study lended support to prior assertions that developmental changes exist in children's ability to see mixed emotional consequences for victimizers. Four year olds, even after probing, were unable to see that victimizers would feel anything besides positive emotions. Six year olds, to a larger degree, and the majority of eight year olds were, however, able to attribute mixed emotions after only minimal probing. The trend also emerged regarding rationale: four year olds' rationales primarily involved an outcome orientation, whereas older children were more focused on moral reasons.

If rejected/aggressive children have been found to exhibit developmental delays in their social information processing abilities, it stands to reason that rejected/aggressive children should approach the "happy victimizer" task in much the same way that younger children do. Likewise, if aggressive children demonstrate deficits specifically in the response evaluation stage of social information processing and evaluate the instrumental and moral values of aggressive behaviors more positively than accepted children, there should be differences in their responses to the "happy victimizer" task. In the social information processing model, this "happy victimizer" phenomenon directly addresses the response evaluation stage.

Developmental and Social Status Differences in Response Evaluation

Through the present study, researchers attempted to examine both developmental and social status differences in children's response evaluation. The finding that rejected/aggressive children, in particular, have difficulty in interpreting and evaluating events which involve moral transgressions and the finding that young children seem to lack the ability to understand mixed emotions in scenarios involving moral transgressions were the focuses of the study. Because aggressive children have been shown to demonstrate a developmental

delay in social information processing and young children also seem to possess a deficit in attributing mixed emotions to victimizers, it was hypothesized that aggressive children should demonstrate a deficit similar to that exhibited by preschoolers. Therefore, the present researchers attempted to evaluate the "happy victimizer" phenomenon by comparing the accepted/nonaggressive, accepted/aggressive, rejected/nonaggressive, rejected/aggressive, and unclassified children of different ages.

Hypotheses included age differences on the following dependent variables: judgments of the emotions experienced by victimizers, the intensity of the emotions that are ascribed to victimizers, the rationale of emotions experienced by victimizers, the level of probing necessary to elicit mixed emotional consequences in victimizers, and the rationale behind the mixed emotional consequences experienced by victimizers. Differences were expected between younger children (ages 4, 5, and 6) and older children (ages 7, 8, and 9). Although many children at all ages were expected to initially judge the victimizer to feel positive emotions, more of the older children were predicted to judge the victimizer to feel negative emotions following victimization. A clear age effect was expected in judgments of the intensity of the emotion experienced by victimizers. Older children were predicted to judge that only "a little bit" of the initial emotion would be experienced, while younger children were expected to judge that victimizers would feel "a whole lot" of the positive emotion. Age differences were expected in terms of the types of rationales children gave for the emotions of victimizers; older children were expected to explain victimizers' feelings based on moral concerns, while younger children were predicted to justify the emotions based on the acquisition of a desired outcome. Finally, age differences were expected in terms of the level of probing necessary before children realized that mixed emotions may ensue for the victimizers. Older

children were predicted to require far less probing than younger children. Rationales which young children gave for the mixed emotional consequences were expected to be more self-focused, while the rationales of older children were expected to be more other-focused.

Peer status differences were also expected to occur on judgments of the emotions experienced by victimizers, the intensity of the emotions ascribed to victimizers, the level of probing necessary to elicit mixed emotional consequences in victimizers, and the rationale behind the mixed emotional consequences experienced by victimizers. Specific differences were expected between the rejected/aggressive peer status group and the accepted/nonaggressive group. The prediction was made that rejected/ aggressive children would make judgments on the "happy victimizer" task which were very similar to the judgments made by the youngest children in the study. Consequently, rejected/aggressive children were expected to judge that the victimizers would feel positive emotions following victimization and would experience "a whole lot" of the positive emotion following victimization. In addition, rejected/aggressive children were expected to require more probing to see the mixed emotional consequences for victimizers and explain the rationale for the mixed emotional consequences in self-focused terms.

Chapter II
Method

The design included two phases: a sociometric phase to determine subject's social standing in the peer group and an evaluation phase where subjects were shown peer provocation stimuli and asked to evaluate emotions experienced by the victim and the victimizer.

Phase 1: Peer Assessment of Social Status

Subjects

Participation in the initial sociometric screening involved 476 out of 567 children (84% mean participation) from 2 years, 9 months to 10 years, 5 months. Parental permission was obtained from all children who participated. Participants rated all classmates, including those who did not have permission to be interviewed. Children attended daycare centers and a public school which served a wide socioeconomic range in Bowling Green, Kentucky.

Materials

Sociometric stimulus materials varied according to the age of the subjects. The youngest child in a class determined the type of stimuli used. A Polaroid snapshot was taken of all preschool age children who were screened; the snapshots served as stimuli for the sociometric interview. In addition to the photographs, three boxes were used as a rating scale for preschool aged children. Each box had a picture of either a happy,

neutral, or sad face on it. Hand printed name tags were used as the stimuli for children in beginning primary grades, who were also interviewed individually. In addition, children in beginning primary grades used a 5-point scale (1=not much; 2=a little bit; 3=OK; 4=more than OK; 5=most or best) which was depicted on a laminated sheet of paper with faces depicting differing amounts of happiness (see Figure 1). For children in upper primary grades, the sociometric assessment was conducted in a group setting. Typed class rosters served as stimuli, and children recorded their responses on a prepared answer sheet. Children in upper primary grades also used the 5-point scale which the children in younger primary grades used (see Figure 1).

Insert Figure 1 about here

Procedure

Overview

The sociometric procedure described by Asher and Dodge (1986) which combines positive nominations and rating scale procedures was used. As with the stimuli used, procedures varied based on the age of the subject, with the youngest child in a class dictating the type of procedure employed. A basic overview of the procedure follows; the specific procedures used for each age group are addressed after the general overview.

The reasons and need for strict confidentiality of children's responses to the interview were explained to subjects both before and after the interview. In the interview, children were asked to rate each classmate on a degree of liking scale (Asher & Hymel, 1981). All children were trained with the rating scale before the rating of their classmates. After the ratings, each child was asked to name the three classmates with whom he/she liked to play and work most

(positive nomination). Subjects were then asked to name three classmates who fit each of the following behavioral descriptions: 1) Who fights and argues with other children more than most children do?; 2) Who is shy and doesn't talk to or play with other children very much?; and 3) Who is easy going and easy to get along with? In order to end on a positive note, children were also asked, "What would you like to be when you grow up?" Questions 1 and 2 allowed identification of rejected/aggressive children versus rejected/withdrawn children. At the end of the interview, each child was reminded of the confidentiality of the responses and asked not to discuss the interview with peers.

Preschool

Preschool age subjects were escorted individually to a private room located inside the school or out into the hallway. The reasons and need for strict confidentiality of children's responses to the interview were explained to subjects both before and after the interview. In the interview, each child was asked to rate each classmate on a three-point degree of liking scale (1=not much; 2=OK; 3=a whole lot). Subjects were shown Polaroid snapshots of each of their classmates and asked to drop the picture into one of three boxes, which represented the degree of liking scale. One box had a happy face on it, to depict "a whole lot." One box had a neutral face on it and represented "OK." The last box had a sad face on it and represented "not much." These special procedures are similar to those used with preschoolers by Asher, Singleton, Tinsley, and Hymel (1979). All children were trained with the rating scale before the rating of their classmates. After completing the ratings, each child was asked to name or point to, from the Polaroid snapshots of every class member laid out before him/her, the three classmates with whom he/she liked to play and work most (positive nomination). Preschool aged subjects were then asked to point to or name three classmates who fit each of the behavioral descriptions

mentioned in the Overview. Finally, children were reminded of the confidentiality of the responses and asked not to discuss the interview with peers.

Individual Interview

The procedure used with children in beginning primary grades differed slightly from that used with preschoolers. First, children in beginning primary grades were individually interviewed with printed name tags with the names of each classmate. For the rating scale, they were presented with the five-point scale (1=not much 2=a little bit; 3=OK; 4=more than OK; 5=most or best), depicted in Figure 1, and trained on use of the scale before the sociometric assessment. First, children were asked to rate each child in the class on how much they like to play and work with him/her. Then they were asked to nominate, by either pointing to the name tag or naming, the three classmates with whom they liked to play and work most. The same three questions that were asked to the four year olds regarding social behavior of their classmates were asked to all children in beginning primary grades. The importance of the confidentiality of children's answers was emphasized at the beginning and conclusion of the interview.

Group Interview

The interviews were presented in a group format to children in upper primary grades (e.g., 2nd and 3rd graders). As with the younger children, confidentiality of responses was emphasized at the beginning and end of the procedure. Children were first given a pictorial representation of the rating scale, identical to that used with children in beginning primary grades (see Figure 1). They were then trained on how to use the 5-point rating scale (1=not much; 2= a little bit; 3=OK; 4=more than OK; 5=most or best). Next, children were presented with a class roster and asked to rate each classmate, using a prepared answer sheet. The class roster included code numbers beside the

name of each child. For the nominations, children were instructed to record their choices with numbers only; no names were to be used on the answer sheet. Nomination questions were explained by an experimenter, and subjects worked on each question, one at a time. Children were instructed to cover their answers with a cover sheet throughout the interview. Nomination questions were the same as those described above.

Analysis

The method of Coie, Dodge, and Coppotelli (1982) was used in order to analyze the sociometric data. The total number of nominations received by each child on the positive nomination question was calculated and transformed into standardized scores within each classroom, to constitute the "Liked Most" score. The number of ratings of "1" on the degree of liking scale (indicating not much liking) was also tallied for each child and standardized within each classroom, to constitute the "Liked Least" score. The total number of nominations received by each child on each of the questions involving behavior (fights, shy, gets along well) was also calculated and transformed into standardized scores within each classroom. Social preference scores were then obtained for each child. Social preference scores were calculated by the following formula: Liked Most z-score minus Liked Least z-score. Social preference is an index of how much children are liked by their classmates. A social impact score was then calculated through the following formula: Liked Most z-score plus Liked Least z-score. Social impact is an index of how much children are noticed by their classmates.

From this information, children were categorized into five peer status groups. For this study, children's peer status was determined by standardized social preference scores and standardized scores of aggression. Children were categorized into five peer status groups: accepted/nonaggressive, accepted/aggressive, rejected/nonaggressive, rejected/aggressive, and

unclassified (those children not meeting the criteria for any other peer status group). Hypotheses were made only with reference to the accepted/nonaggressive and rejected/aggressive groups. Data from all peer status groups, however, was analyzed. The accepted/nonaggressive group was comprised of those children receiving standardized social preference scores greater than or equal to 0 and standardized aggression scores (Who fights and argues...?) less than or equal to 0. The accepted/aggressive group was comprised of those children having social preference scores greater than or equal to 0 and standardized aggression scores greater than or equal to .5. The group of children classified as rejected/nonaggressive had social preference scores less than 0 and standardized aggression scores less than or equal to 0. The rejected/aggressive group was comprised of those children receiving standardized social preference scores less than 0 and standardized aggression scores greater than or equal to .5. Finally, those children who were not classified in any of the previous groups, the unclassified group, had standardized aggression scores greater than 0 and less than .5.

All children with parental permission were interviewed on the Phase II interview, regardless of peer status. All children were included so that the children in the target status groups (accepted/nonaggressive and rejected/aggressive) would not be labeled by peers in any way. All interviewers for the Phase II interview were blind to subjects' status in the peer group.

Phase II

Subjects

A total of 467 out of 476 children, age 2 through 10, were interviewed for the second phase of the experiment. Eleven students were not interviewed due to their inability to understand the interview or their leaving respective daycares or school between the first and second phases of the experiment. The following

numbers of children were interviewed at each age group: two years, 1; three years, 15; four years, 50; five years, 95; six years, 97; seven years, 68; eight years, 88; nine years, 45; and ten years, 6. These children were classified from the Phase I screening into accepted/nonaggressive, accepted/aggressive, rejected/nonaggressive, rejected/aggressive, and unclassified groups. Due to low numbers of two, three, and ten year olds, these subjects were dropped from the analyses, leaving 443 children. Table 1 illustrates the number of subjects in each peer status group at each age. The following represents the numbers of males and females within each age group: 4 years, 25 males and 25 females; 5 years, 50 males and 45 females; 6 years, 51 males and 46 females; 7 years, 36 males and 32 females; 8 years, 38 males and 50 females; and 9 years, 17 males and 28 females.

Insert Table 1 about here

Materials

Two moral transgressions were portrayed, each using three, sequential line drawings (8.5"x11") and accompanying text, which included no depiction or mention of emotions. These stimuli were drawn from copies of the Arsenio and Kramer (1992) stimuli. Two sets were made for each story: one all male and one all female. The characters in the stories were described as being friends. In one story (physical harm), a child pushed another child off of a swing because all of the swings had been taken. In the final story frame, the victimizer was shown on the swing, and the victim was still on the ground where he or she had been pushed. In the other story (theft), one child took grapes from another child's lunch and ran away with them. The final frame showed the victimizer

eating the grapes while the victim was visible across the playground. The dialogue which accompanied each story is shown in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

Two scales to rate the intensity of the victim's emotion and the victimizer's emotion were used, each of which had two facial expressions which differed in intensity, "a little bit" of the particular emotion and "a whole lot" of the particular emotion. One scale portrayed differing levels of a positive emotion e.g., happy, and one portrayed differing levels of a negative emotion, e.g., sad. Figures 2 and 3 show the intensity scales used.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Insert Figure 3 about here

Procedure

Overview

During the second interview, all children were interviewed individually. Children were first trained on use of the two-point intensity scales. They were then shown two different portrayals of peer provocation scenarios, one involving a child pushing another child out of a swing and one involving a child stealing part of another child's lunch (order was counterbalanced). Brief dialogue accompanied each scenario, as shown in Table 2. Before proceeding with the questions, comprehension checks were completed in order to ensure that each child understood the stories. After comprehension checks, the children were

asked to tell how the victim and victimizer were feeling in each scenario . Next, they were asked to rate, via the two point rating scale, how intensely the victim and victimizer were experiencing the identified emotion . The children were then asked why the victim and victimizer were feeling the particular emotion and administered a series of probes in order to assess any recognition that mixed emotions may ensue for the victimizer. Finally, children were asked to give a rationale for the mixed emotional consequences, should any be named, for the victimizer.

Introduction

First children were introduced to the task. They were told that they would hear a couple of short stories and be asked some questions afterwards.

Training

Next, children were trained on the intensity scale. They were shown two happy faces, one that was a little bit happy and one that was a whole lot happy. Children were asked to choose which face represented each degree of happiness. A scenario was then presented to them (e.g., pretend you got a new bicycle for your birthday vs. pretend a friend gave you an orange at lunch) and asked to say which face showed how happy they would be. The same was done with the sad rating instrument with brief stories describing situations which would evoke different levels of sadness (e.g., imagine you fell down and cut yourself vs. imagine you bumped your toe). Comprehension checks were included to ensure that the children understood the rating instruments.

Interview

Children were read two stories (swing story vs. theft story; order of story presentation was counterbalanced). As shown in Table 2, each story included two children, both of whom were given names and described as being friends. They were then asked to tell what happened in the story (Comprehension

Check). Children were required to mention both characters. If they demonstrated an incomplete understanding of the scenario (e.g., they only mentioned one character) they were corrected before proceeding with the interview. Next, they were asked, "How do you think (victim) is feeling?" Children were then asked how they thought (victimizer) was feeling.

Next, children were asked to rate the intensity (a little bit vs. a whole lot) of the stated emotion for the victim first, and then for the victimizer. After this, a second brief comprehension check was done to ensure that the children had not forgotten the story.

The children were subsequently asked why the victim (first) and victimizer (second) would feel that emotion. Subjects' rationales were recorded verbatim. Finally, the children were asked if the victimizer could be feeling anything besides the previously stated emotion and administered a series of probes in order to assess any recognition that mixed emotions may ensue for the victimizer. The rationale for the mixed emotional consequences was also asked.

The following outlines the probes which were used: initial probe (1), "Do you think [the victimizer] could be feeling anything else? What?"; (2),"Do you think maybe [the victimizer] could feel [an opposite valence emotion to the one the child previously selected]? Why?" ; and (3),"You said [the victimizer] would be happy when he got [the victim's] swing. What if [the victimizer] looked at [the victim] on the ground and saw that [the victim] was very sad, could [the victimizer] feel anything besides happy? Why?" Probes were administered in the above sequence either until a child answered yes for a particular level of probe, or until he or she acknowledged no mixed emotional consequences under any level of probe. For example, if a child answered, "yes, she could be feeling sad, too" for probe (1), no additional probes were administered. If a child

answered "yes" for probe (1) but gave a same valence emotion (e.g., "glad"), then additional probes were administered.

Analysis

The first stage of analysis involved coding the data from the interview. All coding was completed by two coders who were blind to age and peer status of the subjects. The first dependent variable, discrete emotions of the victims, was coded with a score of 1 when a sad or angry response was given, while a happy response was coded as a 2. Children were exposed to two stories, and their responses for the two stories were summed. For example, if they chose sad for both stories, they received a score of 2 for this variable. Two happy responses for this variable would be coded as a score of 4. The second dependent variable, discrete emotions of the victimizers, was coded in the same way. Intensity of the victim's emotion was coded based on the two possible responses, "a little bit" and "a whole lot." Responses of "a little bit" were coded as 1, while responses of "a whole lot" were coded as 2. The means of the responses for both stories were used. The fourth dependent variable, intensity of the victimizer's emotion, was coded in the same way as that for the victim, and a mean was taken.

The fifth dependent variable, rationale for the victim's feelings, was coded with a three point scale using definitions provided by Arsenio and Kramer (1992): 1=outcome orientation; 2=implied victimization; and 3=moral concerns. An example of a response which would be coded as an outcome orientation with a score of 1 follows: "...because she got the swing." An example of a response coded as implied victimization with a score of 2 would be "...because his friend pushed him out of the swing." Finally, an example of a response involving moral concerns, coded as 3, would be "...because it's wrong to steal things from people." A mean was taken on rationales provided across both stories.

Rationale for the victimizer's feelings, the sixth dependent variable, was also coded using the categories defined by Arsenio and Kramer (1992); a mean was likewise taken.

The seventh dependent variable, results of the probes to questions about alternative feelings of the victimizer, was coded according to a 6-point scale, adapted from the 4-point scale used by Arsenio and Kramer (1992): 1=subject states victimizer would feel sad, sorry, or bad (but not angry) prior to any probing; 2=subject states victimizer would have mixed emotions (a combination of positive and negative emotions) prior to any probing; 3=subject says yes to probe 1 and gives an opposite valence emotion; and 4=subject says yes to probe 2; 5=subject says no to probe 3 and gives an opposite valence emotion; and 6=subject says yes to probe 3. Again, a mean was taken regarding probe level on each of two stories. Finally, the rationale given for the mixed emotional consequences was coded using a five point scale: 1=self-focused/ harm or loss to self (e.g., "She'll get in trouble"); 2=self-focused/ loss of friendship (e.g., "He won't be his friend anymore"); 3=victim-focused/ concrete (e.g., "She stole her grapes"); 4=victim-focused/ empathic (e.g., "She might have hurt her friend") ; and 5=guilt/moral concern (e.g., "He knows it's wrong to push people off of swings"). Missing data for each question, including responses of "I don't know" were coded as 9.

A second observer coded 29.5% of the data in order to assess inter-rater reliability. Kappa coefficients were computed for each dependent variable. Two responses were possible on four of the dependent variables: emotion of the victim (kappa = 1.0); emotion of the victimizer (kappa = .894); intensity of the victim's emotion (kappa = 1.0); and intensity of the victimizer's emotion (kappa = .9905). Responses to the two questions assessing the rationale for the victim's and victimizer's emotion were coded into three possible categories. Kappa

coefficients for each rationale variable follow: rationale for the victim's emotion = .9592; rationale for the victimizer's emotion = .9485. There were seven possible scores to receive on the probe level. The kappa coefficient for this question was .9726. The question assessing the rationale for the probe had six possible scores; the kappa coefficient for this question was .86498.

Results examined whether age and/or social status affected how children made judgments on questions asked in the second interview. Chi-Square analyses were done on dependent variables which were nominal or dichotomous in nature. Two-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were performed with age (6 levels: 4 - 9 years) and peer status (5 levels: accepted/nonaggressive, accepted/aggressive, rejected/nonaggressive, rejected/aggressive, and unclassified) as between subjects factors for ordinal variables, including the intensity of victimizers' emotions, the intensity of victims' emotions, and the level of probe required to elicit responses showing awareness of mixed emotional consequences for the victimizer.

An age effect was predicted for all dependent variables, when dealing with judgments which pertain to victimizers. It was also hypothesized that younger children, e.g., four, five and some six year olds, would judge that the victimizers would feel happy and feel "a whole lot happy" as opposed to "a little happy". With regards to the rationale variable, younger children were predicted to attribute feelings of victimizers to outcome-oriented rationales, ignoring moral rationales, when compared to older children. Finally, it was expected that younger children would not see the mixed emotional consequences for victimizers even after extensive probing (receiving scores of 4, 5, and 6). Age differences were not predicted for any of the dependent variables concerning victims.

It was expected that older children would also initially judge the victimizers to feel happy; however, a difference was predicted in judgments of discrete emotion, as older children were expected to be more inclined to realize the mixed consequences for the victimizers and rate the intensity of the victimizer's emotion as lower (a little bit happy). Older children were also expected to use more overt moral rationales than younger children and respond to probes more quickly than younger children.

Within the four year and five year old groups, differences in social status were not predicted to be significant due to the obvious developmental factor. For older children, especially the nine, eight, and seven year old children, social status was expected to explain many of the differences in the response patterns of the children. Differences were expected on the judgments of the emotion of the victimizer (rejected/aggressive children were predicted to judge that victimizers would feel happy more often than would accepted/nonaggressive children). In addition, peer status differences were predicted on the judgments of the intensity of the emotion of the victimizer (rejected/aggressive children were predicted to judge the intensity of the positive emotion of the victimizer as greater than accepted/nonaggressive children). Rejected/aggressive children were expected to respond to later levels of probe, e.g., scores of 4, 5, and 6, and accepted/nonaggressive children are expected to respond very early to probing, e.g., scores of 1, 2, and 3. Finally, differences were predicted on the rationales for the mixed emotional consequences (rejected/aggressive children were expected to use more self-focused rationales for the mixed emotional consequences, e.g., scores of 1 and 2, while accepted/nonaggressive children were expected to use more other- focused rationales, e.g., scores of 3, 4, and 5). No peer status differences were expected on any of the dependent variables dealing with victims.

Chapter III
Results

Preliminary Analysis

Preliminary analyses indicated that the order in which the stories were presented was not significantly related to any of the dependent variables in the study. In addition, analyses revealed that gender was not significantly related to any of the dependent variables. Therefore, story order and gender were not used as factors in any analyses reported here.

The Chi Square statistic was used to examine many of the dependent variables. When Chi Square results are reported, the term "expected" will refer exclusively to the expected distributions involved with the Chi Square statistic; the term "predicted" will refer exclusively to the hypotheses made concerning each dependent variable.

Victimizers' Emotions

Emotions of victimizers were assessed through the following question: "How do you think (victimizer's name) is feeling?" Negative emotions (e.g., sad, angry, upset) were coded as 1, while positive emotions were coded as 2. Because two stories were used, the two scores were summed. As seen in Tables 3 and 4, scores of 2.0, 3.0, and 4.0 were possible. A score of 2.0 indicates that the child responded with negative emotions during both stories. A score of 3.0 suggests that the subject gave a negative emotion during one story

and a positive response during the other story. Finally, a score of 4.0 indicates that a child said that the victimizer would feel positive emotions in both scenarios.

Insert Table 3 about here

Insert Table 4 about here

First, emotions of victimizers were evaluated in terms of age of children (4 years through 9 years). The Chi Square statistic was used, due to the categorical nature of this variable. Results demonstrated that the observed distribution of configurations departed significantly from its expected distribution, $\chi 2(10,443) = 27.22452$, $p<.01$, given random pairing and the relative frequency of children within each of the six age groups. Table 3 shows the percentages of children at each age who responded with negative, mixed, and positive emotions. Inspection of the residuals from this analysis indicated that the main reasons for this disparity involve the pattern noted in three situations. The first response pattern involves the percentage of four year old children who judged that the victimizer would feel negative emotions after both stories. Whereas the percentage of children within each of the other age groups who judged the victimizers to feel negative emotions after both stories was consistent with expectations, the percentage of 4 year olds who responded that the victimizer would feel negative emotions after both stories was greater than expected (14% observed vs. 3.4% expected).

Another principal reason to explain the disparity revealed in the analysis pertains to the 4 and 7 year old subjects who judged the victimizers to feel

positive emotions following victimization. With the four year olds, fewer children than were expected judged the victimizers to feel positively following victimization (4 years: 76% observed vs. 87% expected). The groups of 5, 6, 8, and 9 year olds who judged victimizers to feel positive emotions following victimization did not differ from expectations. In contrast, more 7 year olds than were expected attributed positive emotions to victimizers following both stories (95.6% observed vs. 86.9% expected). Although results from the analysis using the Chi Square statistic indicated a significant effect for age, the majority of children at each age level judged the victimizers to feel consistently positive emotions after victimizing their friends (see percentages of positive responses in Table 3).

When evaluating the ratings of victimizers' emotions in terms of peer status, the observed distribution of configurations also departed significantly from its expected distribution, $\chi 2(8,443) = 21.16431$, $p<.01$, given random pairing and the relative frequency of children in the five peer status groups. Table 4 shows the possible responses (negative, mixed, and positive) and the observed and expected percentages of children from each peer status group (Accepted/Nonaggressive, Accepted/Aggressive, Rejected/Nonaggressive, Rejected/Aggressive, and Unclassified) who responded in each way. Inspection of the residuals from this analysis indicated that the principal reasons for the differences between expected and observed values may rest primarily with the response patterns of the accepted/aggressive and rejected/aggressive children.

The first finding involves the number of children who stated that the victimizer would feel positively after one story and negatively after the other story ("mixed" in Table 4). The percentage of children classified in the accepted/nonaggressive, rejected/ nonaggressive, and unclassified groups answering with one positive and one negative response was consistent with

expectations. More children than expected within the accepted/aggressive group, however, judged the victimizer to feel positive emotions after one story and negative emotions after the other story (16.1% observed vs. 9.7% expected). Similarly, more rejected/aggressive children than expected made the judgment that the victimizer would feel positively after one story and negatively after the other (18.6% observed vs. 9.7% expected).

Another discrepancy from expectations was noted in the percentage of accepted/aggressive children who judged victimizers to feel positively following both acts of victimization. While the percentages of children within the other peer status groups who consistently judged victimizers to feel happy were consistent with expectations, a smaller percentage of accepted/aggressive children than were expected made this judgment. Within the accepted/ aggressive group, 77.4% of the children were observed to judge the victimizer to feel positive emotions following both acts of victimization, while 86.8% of the children were expected to respond in this way (see Table 4).

Significant differences were predicted specifically between the accepted/ nonaggressive children's responses and responses given by the rejected/ aggressive children. A Chi Square comparing these two peer status groups also revealed a significant difference, $\chi 2(2,259) = 8.65597$, $p<.05$. Differences between the response patterns of the two groups may be highlighted in the percentages of children who responded with a positive emotion for one story and a negative emotion for the other story and children who responded with positive emotions for both stories. A smaller percentage of accepted/ nonaggressive children than expected gave one positive and one negative response (mixed), while a larger percentage of rejected/aggressive children than expected gave one positive and one negative response. Larger percentages of accepted/nonaggressive children than expected gave two positive responses,

while smaller percentages of rejected/aggressive children gave two positive responses.

Victims' Emotions

Children's judgments of the emotions experienced by the victims were assessed through the following question, "How do you think (victim's name) is feeling?" The coding scheme used for victimizers' emotions was also used to code victims' emotions, where negative emotions were coded as 1 and positive emotions were coded as 2. Again, scores obtained from both stories were summed to give the following possible scores: 2.0, 3.0, and 4.0. As shown in Tables 5 and 6, no scores of 4.0 were obtained, indicating that no subjects judged victims to feel positively after both stories. Again, a score of 2.0 indicates that the subject gave two negative responses, while a score of 3.0 suggests that the child judged the victim to feel negative emotions after one story and positive emotions after the other story.

Insert Table 5 about here

First, emotions of victims were evaluated in terms of age of children (4 years through 9 years). The Chi Square statistic was again used, due to the categorical nature of this variable. In contrast to judgments of victimizers by age, the observed distribution of configurations did not depart significantly from its expected distribution, $\chi 2(5,443) = 4.30489$, (N.S.). In fact, within the age groups 4 years, 7 years, and 8 years, 100 % of the children said that the victim would feel negative emotions on both interviews (see Table 5). Similarly, within the 5, 6, and 9 year old group, 97.9%, 99.0%, and 97.8%, respectively,

attributed negative emotions to the victim during both interviews. There was little variance in subjects' responses to this question.

Evaluating children's judgments of the victims' emotions in terms of peer status again revealed no significant departure from expectations $\chi 2(4,443) = 4.02615$, (N.S.). As Table 6 shows, 100% of the accepted/aggressive and unclassified groups judged that the victims would feel negative emotions during both stories. The majority of children from the remaining groups also attributed negative emotions to victims during both stories. Table 6 also shows that only 0.5%, 1.0%, and 2.9% of the children from the accepted/nonaggressive, rejected/nonaggressive, and rejected/aggressive groups, respectively, attributed a negative emotion to the victim during one story and a positive emotion to the victim during the other story (mixed). Again, there was little variance in subjects' responses within each peer status group.

Insert Table 6 about here

An additional analysis was completed in order to see if the types of responses children gave for the emotions of victimizers differed from those given for the emotions of victims. Again, the Chi Square statistic was used. As shown in Table 7 and Figure 4, the types of responses did indeed differ significantly from expectations, $\chi 2(2,443) = 7.52088$, $p<.05$, given random pairing and the relative frequency of subjects who responded with each emotion. Table 7 and Figure 4 show that the majority of children demonstrated the response pattern wherein they stated that the victim would feel negative emotions during both stories and the victimizer would feel positive emotions during both stories.

Insert Table 7 about here

Insert Figure 4 about here

Intensity of Victimizers' Emotions

The intensity of the emotions attributed to victimizers was assessed through use of a rating scale, picturing a face depicting "a little bit" of an emotion and "a whole lot" of an emotion (see Figures 2 and 3). Children answering "a little bit" were given a score of 1, while answers of "a whole lot" were given a score of 2. Because two stories were used, a mean of the two scores was obtained. Consequently, mean scores range from 1.0 to 2.0.

Insert Table 8 about here

Due to the ordinal nature of the variable measuring intensity of the victimizers' emotions, a 6 (age) x 5 (peer status) ANOVA was done, with age and peer status as between-subjects factors. Table 8 and Figure 5 show the mean scores for intensity of victimizers' emotions, relative to peer status and age of subjects. Results of the two-way ANOVA indicated a highly significant main effect for age, $F(5, 442) = 7.746$, $p < .001$. As shown in Tables 8 and 9, mean scores of intensity ratings decreased with age, suggesting that older children rated victimizers' emotions as less intense than did younger children. Post-hoc analyses (Tukey) indicated that significant differences were found between the following age groups: 4 year olds versus 8 and 9 year olds, 5 year olds versus 8

and 9 year olds, and 6 year olds versus 8 and 9 year olds (see Table 9). Also seen in Table 9 are the mean scores achieved by each group. Clearly, the mean scores decrease with age.

Insert Figure 5 about here

Insert Table 9 about here

No main effect was noted for intensity of victimizers' emotions by peer status, $F(4,442) = 1.047$, (N.S.). A univariate analysis specifically examining the groups of accepted/nonaggressive and rejected/aggressive children also revealed that these two groups were not significantly different on measures of the intensity of emotion attributed to victimizers. In addition, no interaction was noted between age and peer status, $F(20,442) = .727$ (N.S.).

Intensity of Victims' Emotions

The intensity of the emotions attributed to victims was also assessed through use of a rating scale, picturing a face depicting "a little bit" of an emotion and "a whole lot" of an emotion (see Figures 2 and 3). Again, children answering "a little bit" were given a score of 1, while answers of "a whole lot" were given a score of 2, and a mean of the two scores was obtained; the following scores were possible: 1.0, 1.5, and 2.0.

A two-way ANOVA was again chosen due to the ordinal nature of this variable. A 6 (age) x 5 (peer status) ANOVA was used, with age and peer status as between-subjects factors. Results indicated no main effects for age $F(5,403) = 2.197$ (N.S.) or peer status $F(4,403) = 1.700$ (N.S.). In addition, no interaction

was noted between the independent variables F(20,403) = 1.196 (N.S). As shown in Table 10, most children made judgments that the victim would feel "a whole lot" of the emotion during at least one of the interviews, as reflected by mean scores between 1.5 and 2.0.

Insert Table 10 about here

An additional analysis was completed in order to examine whether the level of intensity differed when the questions involved the victimizer versus the victim. In other words, did children judge the victimizer and victim to feel the emotion at the same level of intensity? The Chi Square statistic was used to examine the categories in which subjects' intensity answers fell. Analysis revealed that children's judgments of intensity differed based on the role of victimizer versus victim, $\chi 2(4,442) = 20.80450$, $p < .001$, given random pairing and the relative frequency of children responding with each type of answer. Table 11 and Figure 6 show the numbers of children who answered with each intensity pattern. As can be seen, a larger number of children received mean scores of 1.0 and 1.5 when answering questions about victimizers than when answering questions about victims. More children, however, received scores of 2.0 when answering questions about victims than when answering questions about victimizers.

Insert Table 11 about here

Insert Figure 6 about here

Rationales for Victimizers' Emotions

The rationales which children gave for the emotions of victimizers were assessed through the following question: "You said (victimizer's name) would feel (emotion stated previously). Why do you think (victimizer's name) would feel that way?" Responses were coded according to the coding system used by Arsenio and Kramer (1992), which includes three categories of response: 1) outcome orientation; 2) implied victimization; and 3) moral concerns. After responses from both stories were coded, a mean was obtained yielding possible scores of 1.0, 1.5, 2.0, 2.5, and 3.0. Table 12 shows the percentages of children at each age who obtained the various rationale scores. Also shown in Tables 12 and 13, no mean scores of 3.0 were obtained on this question, an indication that no children explained victimizers' emotions with moral rationales for both stories. Due to the categorical nature of the coding, the Chi Square statistic was used to assess effects of age as well as peer status.

Insert Table 12 about here

Insert Table 13 about here

First, the rationale of victimizers' emotions was evaluated in terms of age of children (see Table 12). Results demonstrated that the observed distribution of configurations departed significantly from its expected distribution, $\chi 2$ (15,435) = 53.20488, $p < .001$, given random pairing and the relative frequency of children in the six age groups. Inspection of the residuals from this analysis indicated that the principal reasons for this difference involve the patterns of responses where children used outcome orientations to explain victimizers'

emotions following both stories (mean score of 1.0). Whereas the percentages of 6, 8, and 9 year old children who consistently gave outcome oriented rationales were consistent with expectations, the percentages of 4, 5, and 7 year olds who responded in this fashion deviated from expected percentages. A smaller percentage of 4 and 5 year olds used outcome orientations than were expected (4 years: 42.2% observed vs. 67.6% expected; 5 years: 51.6% observed vs. 67.6% expected). A larger percentage of 7 year olds, however, responded with consistent outcome orientations than were expected (86.8% observed vs. 67.7% expected).

When evaluating the ratings of victimizers' emotions in terms of peer status, a significant effect was again noted $\chi 2(12,435) = 24.88621$, $p<.05$, indicating that the observed distribution of configurations departed significantly from its expected distribution. Table 13 shows the possible range of mean scores (1.0, 1.5, 2.0, 2.5, and 3.0) and the percentages of children from each peer status group (Accepted/Nonaggressive, Accepted/Aggressive, Rejected/Nonaggressive, Rejected/Aggressive, and Unclassified) achieving the various mean scores.

Inspection of the residuals from this analysis indicated that the principal reason for this difference rests with the pattern of responding exhibited by accepted/aggressive children. First, a smaller percentage of accepted/ aggressive and unclassified subjects than was expected gave rationales for victimizers' emotions which focused on outcomes, obtaining a mean score of 1.0 (accepted/aggressive: 43% observed vs. 67.7% expected; unclassified: 54.2% observed vs. 67.5% expected). In contrast, the other peer status groups used outcome orientations as rationales for victimizers' emotions on both stories more consistently with expectations (see Table 13). In addition, a larger percentage of accepted/aggressive children than were expected gave outcome oriented

rationales following one story and implied victimization rationales following the other story, earning a mean score of 1.5 (40% observed vs. 20% expected). The remaining peer status groups earned mean scores of 1.5 consistently with expectations.

Although patterns did seem to emerge for subjects classified as accepted/aggressive, the results for this variable are difficult to interpret. For the accepted/aggressive children, 14 out of 30 subjects were 8 or 9 years old. Consequently, an age by peer status interaction likely exists. Unfortunately, the Chi Square statistic does not pick up interactions. The primary reason for the difficulty in interpreting this variable is that the answers which subjects gave for the original emotion of the victimizer differ. Most subjects said that the victimizer would feel positive emotions following victimization, but some subjects said that the victimizer would feel negative emotions. The answer given on this earlier question influences the type of answer given by subjects on the rationale question.

The Chi Square statistic was also used to look at differences in rationales of victimizers' emotions based on peer status specifically between the accepted/nonaggressive group and the rejected/aggressive group. No significant effect was noted between the two groups in the rationales given for victimizers' emotions, $\chi 2(3,257) = 6.69153$ (N.S.).

Rationales for Victims' Emotions

The rationale for victims' emotions was also assessed through the question, "You said (victim's name) would feel (emotion stated previously). Why do you think (victim's name) would feel that way?" Responses were again coded using Arsenio and Kramer's (1992) three-point system. A mean was obtained from responses provided from both stories, yielding the following possible

scores: 1.0, 1.5, 2.0, 2.5, and 3.0. As Tables 14 and 15 show, rationale for the victims' emotions was evaluated in terms of age and peer status. The Chi Square statistic was used, due to the categorical nature of this variable.

Insert Table 14 about here

First, rationale for victims' emotions was examined in terms of the age of children. Results revealed that the observed distribution of configurations departed significantly from its expected distribution, $\chi 2(20,438) = 34.85094$, $p<.05$, given random pairing and the relative frequency of children within each age group. Inspection of the residuals from this analysis indicated that the main reason for this difference involves the percentages of children at ages 5, 8, and 9 who obtained a mean score of 2.0, indicating that subjects used implied victimization rationales during both stories or that they used one outcome rationale and one moral rationale. Observed and expected values deviated for these three age groups, compared to the 4, 6, and 7 year olds (See Table 14). A larger percentage of five year olds than would be expected, given random pairing, obtained a mean score of 2.0 (observed 86.3% vs. expected 76.5%). In contrast, a smaller percentage of 8 and 9 year olds obtained mean scores of 2.0 than would be expected, given random pairing (8 years: 69.3% observed vs. 76.5% expected; 9 years: 61.4% observed vs. 76.6% expected). When rationale for victims' emotions was evaluated in terms of peer status differences, no significant effect was noted, $\chi 2(16,438) = 13.53094$ (N.S.). As shown in Table 15, the majority of children classified within each peer status group obtained mean scores of 2.0.

Insert Table 15 about here

An additional analysis was completed in order to assess whether or not children used the same level of reasoning to explain the rationale for victimizers' emotions as they did in explaining victims' emotions. The Chi Square statistic was again used to examine differences in the types of rationale given, due to the nominal nature of the categories. A highly significant effect was found, $\chi 2$ (12, 434) = 50.08110, p<.001. Table 16 and Figure 7 illustrate the differences noted in types of responses given, as the majority of children used outcome orientations when explaining the rationale for victimizers' emotions, while rationales of implied victimization were used more frequently when children described the emotions of victims.

Insert Table 16 about here

Insert Figure 7 about here

Probe Results: Assessment of Alternative Emotions in Victimizers

The level of probing was assessed through the series of questions described in the Methods section (see page 31). The coding system utilized was adapted from that used by Arsenio and Kramer (1992). Subjects received the following scores based on the level of probe necessary to elicit mixed emotional consequences for the victimizer: 1 = subject initially stated that the victimizer would feel sad, sorry, or bad (on the first question that asked how the victimizer

would feel); 2 = subject initially stated that the victimizer would feel mixed emotions (e.g., "happy and sad."); 3 = subject responded to the first probe administered and offered an opposite valence response; 4 = subject responded to second probe; 5 = subject responded to third probe; and 6 = subject did not respond to any level of probe. Again, a mean was obtained from the two stories. Consequently, possible scores for this variable range from 1.0 to 6.0, with low numbers indicating that less probing was necessary.

Insert Table 17 about here

Insert Figure 8 about here

Probe level was assessed in a 6 (age) x 5 (peer status) ANOVA, with age and peer status as between-subjects factors. Mean scores for level of probing necessary are shown relative to peer status and age of subjects (see Table 17 and Figure 8). Results of the two-way ANOVA indicate a main effect for age, $F(5,434) = 8.144$, $p < .001$. Also shown in Tables 17 and 18, mean scores for level of probing decreased with age, indicating that older children required less probing to realize the mixed emotional consequences for victimizers. Post hoc analyses (Tukey) indicated significant differences between the following age groups: 4 year olds versus 8 and 9 year olds; 5 year olds versus 8 and 9 year olds; and 6 year olds versus 8 and 9 year olds (see Table 18). The group of 7 year old children were not significantly different from any other group. This finding may indicate that the 7 year olds comprise a transitional group, not significantly different from the older children (8 and 9 year olds) or the younger children (4, 5, and 6 year olds).

Insert Table 18 about here

No main effect was noted when probe level was assessed in terms of peer status, $F(4,434) = .522$ (N.S.). Univariate analysis examining only the peer status groups of accepted/nonaggressive and rejected/aggressive children also revealed that these two groups were not significantly different on the probe level necessary to elicit responses of mixed emotional consequences for victimizers. In addition, no interaction was noted between age and peer status, $F(19,434) = .764$ (N.S.).

Rationale for the Probed Response

After children indicated, when probed, that the victimizer would feel mixed emotions, they were asked to give the reason that the victimizer would experience mixed emotional consequences. A categorical coding system was developed in order to classify the types of responses given. Scores ranging from 1.0 to 5.0 were possible, and the mean score was obtained from the scores from each of the two stories. The following provides a summary of the scoring system: 1 = rationale which is self-focused, implying harm or loss to self (e.g., "he might get in trouble"); 2 = rationale which is self-focused, implying loss of friendship (e.g., "she won't play with her anymore"); 3 = rationale which is victim-focused, referring to the concrete facts of the story (e.g., "he took his friend's swing"); 4 = rationale which is victim-focused and empathic (e.g., "she feels sad because she knows her friend is hurt"); and 5 = rationale reflecting guilt or moral concern (e.g., "he knows it's wrong to...").

Because of the categorical nature of this variable, the Chi Square statistic was used to examine effects of age and of peer status (see Tables 19 and 20).

There was no significant effect of age, $\chi 2(40,340) = 40.08095$ (N.S.), or peer status, $\chi 2(32, 340) = 31.05605$ (N.S.). Only children who were able to see mixed emotional consequences were asked this question. In addition, some younger children gave answers of "I don't know" to this question. Consequently, 23% of the data for this question were missing.

Insert Table 19 about here

Insert Table 20 about here

Chapter IV
Discussion

Victimizers' Emotions

The first hypothesis involved the judgments of emotions attributed to victimizers. It was hypothesized that both age and peer status effects would be associated with differences in the way children made judgments on the questions of how victimizers would feel after they had committed a transgression against a friend. Judgments about the feelings victimizers would experience after either pushing a friend out of a swing or stealing part of a friend's lunch were first assessed in terms of the different ages of children. Although a significant effect was noted in terms of age, most children, regardless of age, judged victimizers to feel positive emotions. When comparing older children (8 and 9 years old) to younger children (5,6, and 7 years old), smaller percentages of older children stated that the victimizers would consistently feel positive emotions after the transgressions against their friends. In other words, the older children were less likely to say that the victimizers would feel "happy" after stealing from or pushing their friend.

Four year old children, however, did not follow the pattern of the 5, 6, and 7 year old children. Contrary to expectations, the 4 year old group had the *smallest* percentage of subjects who stated that victimizers would feel consistently happy after hurting their friends. In addition, the 4 year old children

comprise the age group with the *largest* percentage of those who stated that victimizers would consistently feel negative emotions following transgressions.

When comparing the 5, 6, and 7 year olds to the 8 and 9 year olds, the findings may be explained in terms of the developmental shift which has been proposed to occur as children learn that achieving a desired outcome is only one factor in determining the feelings which follow acts that violate moral rules. Hence, older children, when compared to younger children, are more likely to be aware that the feelings of victimizers are partially accounted for by the violation of the moral rule in question. Consequently, older children are more likely to judge that victimizers may actually feel a negative emotion following violation of a moral rule. Regardless of the apparent developmental shift, the majority of children at all ages said that victimizers would feel happy following victimization.

The 4 year old children, however, did not answer as expected. In fact, they responded to this question more similarly to the response patterns given by the 8 and 9 year old children. This finding may be partially understood in terms of the population of 4 year olds. First, a smaller number of 4 year old children were interviewed (only 50). From these 50 children who were 4 year olds, many children attended a religiously affiliated daycare, whose curriculum is heavily weighted in lessons on morality and how to treat friends. In addition, many of the remaining 4 year olds attended programs such as the Head Start program, which also implement curricular goals emphasizing prosocial behavior. Because of the curricular emphasis on prosocial behavior and social skills acquisition, the 4 year old children in this study appear to have the ability to consider more than the attainment of the material goal in judging how victimizers will feel after they have hurt their friends.

The preceding findings support the hypothesis regarding an age effect when children were asked how the victimizers would feel following hurting their

friends by pushing them or stealing from them. The nature of the age effect, however, was not expected; i.e., the 4 year olds were expected to respond in a similar fashion to those children who were 5, 6, and 7 years old, rather than those who were 8 and 9 years old. The differences noted between the majority of the younger children versus the 8 and 9 year olds support a developmental shift in children's ability to realize that emotions following transgressions may be negative, despite the achievement of a desired material outcome.

With regards to the overall age effect, where younger children generally stated that victimizers would feel positive emotions and more of the older children stated that victimizers would feel negatively, past research was replicated. For example, Arsenio and Kramer (1992) found that almost all of the younger children said that the victimizer would feel positive emotions, but some 8 year olds said that the victimizer would experience negative emotions. Similar patterns were found by Barden and colleagues (1980) and Nunner-Winkler and Sodian (1988).

The exception to the similarity between past research and the present study involves the pattern exhibited by the 4 year olds. Harter and Buddin (1987), however, assert in their study of how children achieve various levels of understanding of the simultaneity of conflicting emotions, that variability among even young children may exist in their acquisition of the various levels. For example, the researchers suggest that variability among children may be associated with factors other than those which are age-related in nature. Harter and Buddin (1987) further assert that the following differences may contribute to the variability among children of the same age: cognitive skills, verbal ability, socialization experiences, exposure to events which may provoke the experiencing of simultaneous emotions, and parenting practices.

A limitation related to the generalizability of this finding involves the sampling of 4 year old children. First, few four year olds were interviewed, in comparison to 5 through 8 year old children. Those interviewed additionally do not likely represent a true population of 4 year old children. Many of the 4 year olds attended daycares or preschools which served a predominantly upper-middle to upper class socioeconomic range. Future research may focus on obtaining a more representative and unbiased sample of 4 year old children. In order to gain information into the proposed developmental shift which is suggested to occur, future research may attempt to include children of all ages from learning facilities which are more representative of the overall population.

The second hypothesis with regards to judgments of emotions of victimizers stated that peer status differences would be related to judgments children made about the emotions of victimizers. As predicted, peer status was associated with answers children gave concerning how victimizers would feel after they had victimized friends. The nature of the effect, however, was not predicted. Specifically, responses of the accepted/nonaggressive and rejected/aggressive children were predicted to explain the majority of the differences. Contrary to expectations, patterns in responding by the accepted/ aggressive and rejected/aggressive children seemed to explain the disparity.

More children within the accepted/aggressive peer status group judged that victimizers would feel happy after one story and a negative emotion after the other story. More rejected/aggressive children than expected also responded with one positive emotion and one negative emotion. Another interesting finding involves the percentages of accepted/aggressive children who judged that the victimizers would feel happy following victimization. A smaller percentage than was expected judged victimizers to feel happy following victimization. This latter finding was expected to occur among subjects within the accepted/

nonaggressive peer status group rather than the accepted/aggressive group. The findings relating to the accepted/aggressive group should be interpreted in light of the age of many of the children within this group; fourteen of 30 were 8 or 9 years old.

Although peer status differences have not been evaluated in terms of this particular task, past research on the response evaluation stage of Dodge's (1986) social information processing model indicates that the aggressive children would be expected to show deficits in evaluating responses which involve aggression. Asking an aggressive child how a victimizer would feel after the victimizer had acted aggressively to obtain a desired material outcome, consequently, would seem to elicit the social information processing deficits found by Crick and Ladd (1986). These researchers found that aggressive children actually rated the instrumental and interpersonal consequences of aggression more positively than nonaggressive children. Therefore, one would expect aggressive children, especially those who are also rejected by their peers, to judge the emotional consequences of aggression more consistently positive than was actually noted.

Victims' Emotions

No significant effects were expected in terms of the judgments children made about the emotions victims would experience after they had been victimized. Regardless of age or peer status, it was expected that most, if not all, children would judge that the victims would feel negative emotions. As predicted, neither age nor peer status was associated with judgments children made about how the victim would feel following victimization. The majority of children made judgments that victims would experience negative emotions after their friends committed wrongful acts like pushing them out of a swing or stealing

part of their lunch. This finding replicates that found by Arsenio and Kramer (1992); no age effect emerged during their study using the same interview.

Past research done on rejected/aggressive children indicates that these children do not show deficits in making judgments in all situations (Dodge, et al., 1982). A specific situation in which the deficits of rejected/aggressive children have been found to occur involves answering questions about aggressive responses to victimization. Rejected/aggressive children have been shown to evaluate aggressive retaliation toward victimizers more positively than other children. Thus, if rejected/aggressive children consider aggression toward a provocateur as a positive response to victimization, it follows that rejected/aggressive children would expect victims to experience negative emotions.

Differences in Judgments of Victimizers' and Victims' Emotions

No specific hypotheses were made regarding differences in judgments of emotions of victimizers and victims. Results revealed significant differences in the answers given. For example, the majority of children stated that victimizers would feel positive emotions and victims would feel negative emotions. This is a replication of the Arsenio and Kramer (1992) findings, where the same differences were found. This finding lends support to the assertion that young children are able to attribute different valence emotions to different targets (Level 3 in the developmental sequence of understanding the simultaneity of two emotions, Harter & Buddin, 1987).

Intensity of Victimizers' Emotions

Both age and peer status effects were predicted when evaluating children's judgments of the intensity of the emotions experienced by victimizers.

First, age was assessed in terms of the differences in the intensity of emotions attributed to victimizers. As expected, older children judged that victimizers would feel less intense emotions than younger children. In other words, the older the child, the more likely he/she was to judge that the victimizer would experience "a little bit" of the previously stated emotion versus "a whole lot" of the emotion. Specific age-related differences were found between 4 year olds versus 8 and 9 year olds, 5 year olds versus 8 and 9 year olds, and 6 year olds versus 8 and 9 year olds.

The greater frequency of older children's answering that the victimizer would feel "a little bit" of the emotion is an indication that these older children may realize the possible mixed emotional consequences which accompany victimization. Even though the material outcome is achieved, older children have been shown to be more likely to consider the moral violations involved, which may ultimately reduce the intensity of the initial positive emotion.

Nunner-Winkler and Sodian's (1988) conception of a developmental shift may partially explain the findings of the present research. These researchers assert that younger children generally have great difficulty conceptualizing mixed emotional consequences but are more biased by the attainment of the desired outcome. Similarly, the Arsenio and Kramer (1992) study found the same pattern, in that older children (8 year olds) judged victimizers to feel less intensely than younger children (4 and 6 year olds).

Peer status effects were also predicted in the judgments of emotion intensity which children made. Specifically, rejected/aggressive children were expected to respond to the question of how intensely the victimizer would feel the particular emotion in a similar fashion to that of the youngest children (e.g., more "a whole lot" responses) . This effect was predicted due to the hypothesized developmental delay of rejected/aggressive children in processing

social information when aggressive responses are being evaluated. Accepted/nonaggressive children were predicted to respond with more "a little bit" responses, reflecting ambiguity in the emotion due to mixed emotional consequences involving the violation of a moral rule. Consequently, peer status differences were also examined. Analysis revealed, however, that peer status differences were not related to judgments of the intensity of victimizers' emotions. The rejected/aggressive group answered most similarly to the six year old group on this question. Still, there was no significant effect, as all peer status groups achieved mean scores from 1.598 (accepted/aggressive) to 1.752 (unclassified).

The type of analysis completed for this question may partially explain the absence of peer status effects. When completing the ANOVA, all ages and all peer statuses were simultaneously included in the analysis. The significant developmental effects which were found, consequently, may have camouflaged the peer status differences. Perhaps completing the analysis on peer status effects for one age group at a time would be more sensitive in measuring peer status differences in the ways children answered this question.

Intensity of Victims' Emotions

The majority of children were predicted to answer that victims would feel "a whole lot" of the negative emotion following victimization. Nonetheless, this variable was examined in terms of age and peer status. When children judged how intensely the victims' emotions would be experienced in terms of age, the majority said that the victimizers would experience "a whole lot" of the emotion. Findings suggest that age was not associated with children's judgments of the emotional intensity experienced by victims.

As with the variable assessing the judgments made about how victims would feel, prior research has not uncovered a relationship between age and judgments about intensity of emotions experienced by victims after victimization. The present finding is similar to that found by Arsenio and Kramer (1992). In their study, no age differences were noted when evaluating the intensity of the emotions experienced by victims. Most of the children in their study similarly stated that victims would feel "a whole lot" of the negative emotion. This finding suggests that children as young as four years old realize that victims feel extremely negatively, as opposed to somewhat negatively, after being victimized by a friend.

Peer status was also examined in light of the judgments of emotional intensity of victims. Regardless of the peer status group, subjects realized that victims feel "a whole lot" of an emotion after being victimized by a friend. Deficits in the social information processing of rejected/aggressive children were not obvious, based on this question. As stated previously, rejected/aggressive children do not exhibit deficient social information processing in all situations. On this particular question, attempts were made to increase the salience of the victim and highlight the aspects of harm to the victim. Most children, regardless of peer status or age, realized that victims would experience extremely negative emotions after being victimized by their friends.

Differences of Judgments of Emotion Intensity between Victimizers and Victims

No specific hypotheses were made regarding differences between the intensity of emotion attributed to victimizers and victims. When comparing the ratings of intensity given to victimizers versus victims, however, children consistently attributed more "a whole lot" ratings to victims, compared to

victimizers. More "a little bit" ratings were attributed to victimizers. Arsenio and Kramer (1992) uncovered similar findings, in that children attributed more extreme emotions to victims than victimizers. This finding suggests that children judge the sadness which results from being wronged by a friend as more intensely experienced than the happiness at achieving a desired outcome.

Rationales for Victimizers' Emotions

The hypothesis regarding the rationale which children used to explain the emotions experienced by victimizers involved age only. As expected, there was a significant effect of age. Pertaining to the predicted age effect, older children were expected to explain reasons for emotions using more moral concerns, while younger children were expected to focus on the material gains of the outcome (e.g., "he got the swing"). When children gave reasons for why the victimizers would feel the previously stated emotions, in general, larger percentages of older children (8 and 9 year olds) used morally oriented rationales than younger children. This difference, however, was small and was not the primary contributor to the differences noted in the response patterns of children at different ages.

The most significant difference in the response patterns of children of different ages is noted when examining the percentages of children who consistently explained victimizers' feelings in terms of outcomes. For example, fewer 4 and 5 year olds gave outcome oriented rationales than were expected, and more 7 year olds used outcome oriented rationales. The most discrepant group from expectations was again the 4 year olds. This difference may be related to the types of daycares they attended.

The present results are similar to those found by Arsenio and Kramer (1992), with regards to an overall age effect. In their study, however, the

differences in the numbers of older children and younger children who used morally oriented rationales were greater. Although proportionately more 8 and 9 year olds used moral concerns to explain victimizers' emotions than younger children in the present study, the percentages of children who used outcome orientations were the primary reason for the disparity noted in the present study.

Peer status effects were not predicted for this variable. The principal reason that no predictions were made involves the nature and coding of this question. For example, the emotion which children initially attributed to the victimizer was substituted into the following question, which examines the rationale for victimizers' emotions: "Okay, you said (victimizer's name) would feel _____. Why do you think (he/she) would feel that way?". The emotion which children originally attributed to victimizers has an effect on the type of answer which is given. Although most children indicated that victimizers would feel positive emotions, some children said that victimizers would feel negative emotions.

Past research has produced findings which suggest that aggressive children use morally oriented rationales to explain aggressive acts. They have been shown, however, to evaluate the moral outcomes of aggression more positively than nonaggressive children (Crick & Ladd, 1987). In other words, aggressive children may use moral concerns to rationalize aggression. The current coding system unfortunately does not detect differences involving whether the child was explaining why a victimizer would feel sad versus why a victimizer would feel happy. All morally oriented rationales were coded in the same way, regardless of whether they pertained to victimizer happiness or victimizer sadness. For example, the response of a child who stated that the victimizer would feel sad because "it's wrong to hurt your friends like that" (a morally oriented rationale) would be coded identically to a response where a

child stated that the victimizer would feel happy because "it's only fair that he should have the swing." Consequently, no hypotheses were made regarding peer status differences.

Contrary to expectations, differences in responding to this question were associated with peer status differences. A smaller percentage of accepted/ aggressive children than were expected used outcome orientations to explain victimizers' emotions. In addition, a larger percentage of accepted/ aggressive children than was expected used a combination of outcome and implied victimization rationales. The pattern noted among the accepted/aggressive children may suggest that children classified as accepted/aggressive are generally using higher levels of reasoning to explain the rationale behind victimizers' emotions than other children. In addition, evaluation of the initial emotions accepted/aggressive children attributed to victimizers reveals that fewer accepted/aggressive children expected victimizers to feel consistently happy after victimization. These patterns suggest that the children classified as accepted/aggressive used the highest levels of moral reasoning. It should be noted, however, that 14 out of 30 accepted/aggressive subjects were 8 or 9 years old. Consequently, developmental effects may explain the response patterns of accepted/ aggressive children more than peer status effects.

Rationales for Victims' Emotions

No age differences were predicted when children made judgments about how victims would feel following victimization. It was predicted that most children would use implied victimization rationales to explain the emotions of victims. When different ages were considered, however, there was a significant effect. Although older children used overt moral concerns more frequently than younger children, this difference was not the principal reason for the age effect.

The largest differences were noted in the children who obtained mean scores of 2.0, indicating that they either used implied victimization rationales on both stories or that they used one outcome orientation and one moral orientation. Specifically, differences from expectations were noted in the 5, 8, and 9 year olds. More 5 year olds than were expected obtained a mean score of 2.0, while fewer 8 and 9 year olds obtained a mean score of 2.0.

In the study conducted by Arsenio and Kramer (1992), similar results were found. Eight year old children provided more overt moral rationales for victims' emotions than younger children. In addition, 8 year olds offered fewer implied victimization rationales than younger children.

As with age, peer status effects were not predicted when looking at rationales for victims' emotions. Again, researchers felt that most children, regardless of peer status, would use implied victimization rationales to explain victims' emotions. As predicted, no differences were found based on peer status groups. The majority of children across peer status groups used implied victimization rationales to explain victims' emotions.

Differences of Rationale for Victimizers and Victims

Although no specific hypotheses were made regarding differences in the rationales children used to explain victimizers' versus victims' emotions, these differences were nonetheless assessed. The majority of children used rationales involving outcome orientations when describing reasons for *victimizers'* emotions. In contrast, the majority of children used rationales involving implied victimization when explaining why *victims* would experience particular emotions. This finding suggests that children used a higher level of reasoning when the victims' emotions were in question, as opposed to the victimizers' emotions. Arsenio and Kramer (1992) similarly found that

assessments of victimizers involved more outcome oriented rationales, while assessments of victims involved more implied victimization rationales.

Probe Results: Assessment of Alternative Emotions in Victimizers

Differences in the level of probing necessary in order to elicit mixed emotional consequences for victimizers were expected in age levels and in peer status groups. When assessing age, older children were expected to respond more quickly to probing; i.e., 8 and 9 year olds were expected to have either expressed mixed emotional consequences earlier in the interview or to respond to the least directive probe. Younger children (6 and 7 year olds), however, were expected to require more directive probes. The preschool age children were expected to require the most directive probes and frequently to not respond to any level of probing. Results suggested that older children required less probing in order to elicit a response suggesting mixed emotional consequences for victimizers. Younger children, in contrast, required more probing to acknowledge possible mixed emotional consequences for victimizers.

In the Arsenio and Kramer (1992) study, most 6 and 8 year olds responded to the least directive probe. Most 4 year olds, in contrast, continued to expect that victimizers would feel happy even after the most directive probe. In the most directive probe, harm and loss to the victim were specifically highlighted in order to increase the salience of the victims' situation. Nevertheless, many 4 year olds did not express understanding of the mixed emotional consequences experienced by the victimizer.

Once again, this pattern may be explained in terms of the attributional shift which has been suggested to exist in children's ability to understand two simultaneously occurring emotions. Although many younger children acknowledged mixed emotions after probing, more probing was required for

younger children to come to this understanding. This finding suggests that young children may not readily have the ability to see mixed emotional consequences for victimizers subsequent to victimization of a friend. When the younger children are given the possible opposite valence emotion and the victims' situation is made more salient, however, the younger children often realized the possible mixed emotional consequences.

Peer status was also hypothesized to account for differences in the probing necessary to elicit responses involving mixed emotional consequences for victimizers. Specifically, rejected/aggressive children were expected to require more probing to elicit responses of mixed emotions. Contrary to expectations, peer status was not a significant factor in explaining differences between groups. Although rejected/aggressive children did require more probing in order to elicit responses involving mixed emotional consequences, the differences were not significant.

Rejected/aggressive children were expected to require more probing based on past findings that these children rate the instrumental and interpersonal consequences of aggressive acts more positively than nonaggressive children (Crick & Ladd, 1990). More specifically, if aggressive children expect victimizers' aggressive acts to result in more positive instrumental and interpersonal outcomes than nonaggressive children, it follows that rejected/aggressive children would have more difficulty focusing on the negative effects of aggression to the victim. In other words, rejected/aggressive children's tendency to rate the outcome of an aggressive act more positively than would other children would lead one to predict that responses reflecting the negative feelings related to the moral outcomes of victimization would be more difficult to elicit in rejected/aggressive children. Since aggressive children are

more likely to have instrumental goals, as opposed to social relational goals, the victim's feelings may not be relevant to their goals for the situation.

Rationale for the Probed Response

The rationales children used in explaining the possible mixed emotional consequences of victimization were expected to be associated with differences in age and peer status of children. Pertaining to age, younger children were expected to use more self-focused rationales, which were also more concrete in nature. In contrast, older children were expected to use more other-focused rationale and include statements showing empathy for the victim as well as concern for the moral rules which had been violated in the act of victimization. Contrary to expectations, age was not related to differences in children's responses to why victimizers could feel an opposite valence emotion from the emotion which was originally given. Perhaps age was not significant because the majority of the children who never acknowledged mixed emotional consequences (and were not asked this question) were younger. Consequently, this question was asked to a more homogeneous group of older children.

Similarly, differences were expected in terms of peer status. Rejected/ aggressive children were expected to use more self-focused rationales, while accepted/nonaggressive children were predicted to use other-focused rationales, explaining ideas of empathy toward the victim as well as concern for the violation of the moral rules. Again, no effect was noted based on peer status.

To explain possible reasons why neither age nor peer status influenced responses on this last question, several factors should be explored. First, the coding system used for the last question was developed by the present researchers and had not been used in prior studies. Although the coding system

was felt to provide straightforward categories by which to differentiate responses, there may have been overlap in categories; e.g., extremely fine distinctions in answers may have made a difference in the code given. Perhaps using more fewer and more general categories would have provided more information.

Another problem with this question involves the large amount of missing data. Overall, 23% of the children interviewed on this question gave answers which were coded as missing. The missing data may be partially explained by the numbers of children who never responded to probes; these children were obviously not asked the rationale for a probe to which they never responded. In addition, younger children occasionally responded with answers of "I don't know" or did not respond at all. This may suggest that children of all ages, but especially the youngest children, had difficulty articulating their reasoning for mixed emotional consequences. Perhaps including choices of possible rationales and allowing the child to choose from fixed responses may have enlisted more participation on this question. Obvious problems, however, would also be associated with a more fixed response format.

General Implications of Findings

Although many theoretical implications have been covered under individual subheadings, general implications which pertain to the entire study should be addressed. When evaluating the effects of age on the various aspects of the study, a general developmental or attributional shift may be supported. Children of different ages clearly appear to differ in their ability to understand two simultaneously existing emotions, especially when they are different valences. Although a developmental trend likely exists, however, developmental differences do not appear to solely determine children's ability to

understand mixed emotional consequences. Through differences in socialization experiences, cognitive and verbal ability, and parenting practices, even preschool age children may have the capacity to understand simultaneously existing, opposite valence emotions about a single experience.

Results of the differences based on peer status may also be applied to current theory. Unfortunately, peer status did not provide a strong explanation for how children responded to the questions in the present research. Although some peer status differences were noted, there was no compelling evidence that rejected/aggressive children consistently responded more deficiently than children within other social status groups. Had peer status analyses been conducted within each age, however, the effects of peer status may have been more obvious.

Studying differences in children's understanding of emotion is particularly relevant based on the following functionalist assumption: Emotions have an effect on subsequent behavior. Bretherton, Fritz, Zahn-Waxler, and Ridgeway (1986) suggest the connection between emotion and behavior through the following: "Emotions are conceptualized as important internal monitoring and guidance systems, designed to appraise events and motivate human action" (p. 530). Consequently, in studying differences between prosocial and antisocial behavior, emotion may play an important regulatory role in subsequent behavior. Perhaps, then, focusing social skills acquisition more in line with understanding the emotions of oneself as well as others, as opposed to stringent emphasis on the prosocial acts themselves, may effect more significant changes in actual behavior.

In addition, increasing the focus on the understanding of emotions may actually be more generalizable to different contexts. When prosocial acts are solely emphasized, many children have difficulty generalizing the skills to

different situations. If children, however, were trained in the understanding of emotions, an important factor in behavior regulation, perhaps they would be more likely to use the information in different situations. Thus, practical implications from the present research indicate that in matters of social skills training, regulation of behavior through understanding of emotional consequences should not be ignored.

General Limitations and Future Directions

The first limitation of the present study, as already mentioned, involves the selection of 4 year old children. Although attempts were made to select daycares and preschools which would be representative of the general population, many of the 4 year olds attended daycares which were not necessarily representative of the population (e.g., many of the preschools predominantly served an upper-middle to upper class population). In addition, the preschool age children were unable to be interviewed due to inability to understand the interview or moving came from the preschools which served a lower middle class population. Consequently, many of the 4 year olds came from higher socioeconomic backgrounds than is representative of the overall population. Also, the 4 and 9 year old groups were small, when compared to other age groups. Differences in these extremes were likely more difficult to detect due to the smaller sample sizes. Future research may include a larger sampling of 4 and 9 year olds, as well as a more representative sample of preschool age children.

Another possible limitation involves the inclusion of only one elementary school. Although a wide range of socioeconomic statuses were represented, the children attending this school were primarily from lower-middle class backgrounds; thus, the children are not truly representative of the population. In

addition, there may be distinctive features about the families which reside in the geographical area represented in the elementary school used in the present study. Perhaps future research should sample from different elementary schools and include a sample which is more representative of the population. These sampling problems may provide limitations in the generalization of the present findings.

Overall, a larger sample may have produced more distinct findings, especially with regards to the peer status variable. Because there were not enough children identified in the procedure for determining social status used by Coie and colleagues (1982), the social status group criteria used in the present study were not as stringent. This procedural difference resulted in peer status groups which were not as extreme as those used when the previously mentioned definitions are utilized (Coie, et al., 1982). Perhaps more extreme peer status groups would have demonstrated more distinct differences in response patterns. Also concerning peer status, future researchers may specifically examine response patterns between the accepted/aggressive and rejected/aggressive groups. In addition, conducting the peer status analyses within one age at a time may provide more insight into peer status differences. Other interesting features which were not explored during the present study but may contribute to the knowledge base involve the actual quality of the responses given. For example, during the present study, answers were coded as positive or negative. An interesting question involves the actual answers given, for example, angry versus sad responses and happy versus proud responses. Were age differences related to the types of responses given? Did peer status correlate with the types of responses offered? For rationale questions, using a coding scheme which differentiates responses rationalizing happy emotions versus sad emotions may provide more information.

Because the present study is cross-sectional in nature, there are inherent limitations involved. The limitations can be most accurately highlighted by contrasting cross-sectional data with longitudinal data. With longitudinal data, the same subjects' behavior is studied over time. Thus, behavior change in the lives of individuals may be described as well as ascribed to independent events. Longitudinal studies involve making many observations on the same subjects as they progress through different developmental levels. Cross-sectional data, in contrast, involves making many observations on different subjects at many different levels. In other words, with longitudinal data, one is able to compare the same subjects, over time, to themselves. With cross-sectional data, one must compare individuals at one stage to individuals at another stage. In order to evaluate developmental differences in the most valid way, longitudinal research would offer advantages. Through longitudinal research, for example, the same children could be tested with the "happy victimizer" task once at age 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. The results of this type of study would provide more sound evidence of a true developmental effect, because a child's performance at one developmental level could actually be compared to the same child's performance at another developmental level.

The greatest limitation of the present research involves making generalizations about behavior based on responses to an interview. Studying children's understanding of the emotional consequences which accompany aggressive acts will likely provide a valuable link in understanding human behavior. Although using an interview format provides information into that understanding that children have of emotion, one may not gain information into how this knowledge truly affects actual behavior. Ultimately, studying children's actual behavior in terms of the mediating value of emotion will provide the most valuable information.

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Table 1

Number of Subjects at Each Age and Peer Status

	Peer Status Group					
Age (yrs)	Acc/ Non	Acc/ Agg	Rej/ Non	Rej/ Agg	Un- class.	
4	14	4	13	8	11	n=50
5	40	7	26	12	10	n=95
6	43	5	17	20	12	n=97
7	35	1	17	9	6	n=68
8	38	10	19	15	6	n=88
9	19	4	11	6	5	n=45
	n=189	n=31	n=103	n=70	n=50	

Note. "Acc/Non" = Accepted/Nonaggressive; "Acc/Agg" = Accepted/Aggressive; "Rej/Non" = Rejected/Nonaggressive; "Rej/Agg" = Rejected/Aggressive; and "Unclass." = Unclassified.

Table 2

Dialogue for Stories

Physical Harm Story

This is a story about two friends, Steven and Bob, who like to play together. One day, Steven and Bob are playing outside on the playground. Steven wants a turn on the swings and Steven sees that one of them is empty. Bob sees Steven get on the swing, and Bob wants to get on, too. Bob gets behind Steven and pushes him off really hard. Now Bob is on Steven's swing.

Theft Story

This is a story about two friends, Kevin and John, who like to play together. Kevin and John are eating lunch one day. Kevin's mom put some grapes in Kevin's lunch box, because Kevin really likes grapes. John really likes grapes, too. So John grabs Kevin's grapes and runs away. Now John is eating Kevin's grapes.

Note. When females were interviewed, female names were used.

Table 3

Emotions of Victimizers by Age

	Age in Years					
Emotion	4	5	6	7	8	9
Negative						
Obs.%	14.0	3.2	1.0	1.5	1.1	4.4
Exp.%	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.3
Mixed						
Obs.%	10.0	11.6	8.2	2.9	13.6	11.1
Exp.%	9.8	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.8
Positive						
Obs.%	76.0	85.3	90.7	95.6	85.2	84.4
Exp.%	87.0	86.9	86.9	86.9	86.9	86.9
	n=50	n=95	n=97	n=68	n=88	n=45

Note. "Obs.%" represents observed percentages; "Exp.%" represents expected percentages. Chi Square analysis indicated significance, $\chi 2$ (10,443) = 27.22452, $p<.01$.

Table 4

Emotions of Victimizers by Peer Status

	Peer Status Groups				
Emotion	Acc/Non	Acc/Agg	Rej/Non	Rej/Agg	Unclass.
Negative					
Obs.%	1.6	6.5	6.8	0.0	6.0
Exp.%	3.4	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.4
Mixed					
Obs.%	6.9	16.1	5.8	18.6	12.0
Exp.%	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.8
Positive					
Obs.%	91.5	77.4	87.4	81.4	82.0
Exp.%	86.9	86.8	86.9	86.9	87.0
	n=189	n=31	n=103	n=70	n=50

Note. "Obs.%" represents observed percentages; "Exp.%" represents expected percentages. "Acc/Non" = Accepted/Nonaggressive; "Acc/Agg" = Accepted/ Aggressive; "Rej/Non" = Rejected/Nonaggressive; "Rej/Agg" = Rejected/ Aggressive; and "Unclass." = Unclassified. Chi Square analysis indicated significance, $\chi 2(8,443)=21.16431$, $p<.01$.

Table 5

Emotions of Victims by Age

	Age in Years					
Emotion	4	5	6	7	8	9
Negative						
Obs.%	100.0	97.9	99.0	100.0	100.0	97.8
Exp.%	99.0	99.1	99.1	99.1	99.1	99.1
Mixed						
Obs.%	0.0	2.1	1.0	0.0	0.0	2.2
Exp.%	1.0	1.0	.9	.9	.9	.9
Positive						
Obs.%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Exp.%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	n=50	n=95	n=97	n=68	n=88	n=45

Note. "Obs.%" represents observed percentages; "Exp.%" represents expected percentages. Chi Square analysis indicated no significance, $\chi 2(5,443) = 4.30849$ (N.S.).

Table 6

Emotions of Victims by Peer Status

	Peer Status Groups				
Emotion	Acc/Non	Acc/Agg	Rej/Non	Rej/Agg	Unclass.
Negative					
Obs.%	99.5	100.0	99.0	97.1	100.0
Exp.%	99.1	99.0	99.1	99.1	99.0
Mixed					
Obs.%	0.5	0.0	1.0	2.9	0.0
Exp.%	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.0
Positive					
Obs.%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Exp.%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	n=189	n=31	n=103	n=70	n=50

Note. "Obs.%" represents observed percentages; "Exp.%" represents expected percentages. "Acc/Non" = Accepted/Nonaggressive; "Acc/Agg" = Accepted/ Aggressive; "Rej/Non" = Rejected/Nonaggressive; "Rej/Agg" = Rejected/ Aggressive; and "Unclass." = Unclassified. Chi Square analysis indicated no significance, $\chi 2(4,443)=4.02615$ (N.S).

Table 7

Judgments of Emotions of Victimizers and Victims

	Emotions		
	Negative	Mixed	Positive
Victimizers	15	43	385
Victims	439	4	0

Note. Chi Square analysis indicated significance in the different emotions attributed to victimizers and victims, $\chi 2(2,443)=7.52088$, $p<.05$.

Table 8

Mean Intensity of Victimizers' Emotions by Age and Peer Status

	Peer Status Group					
Age (yrs)	Acc/ Non	Acc/ Agg	Rej/ Non	Rej/ Agg	Un- class.	
4	1.89	1.75	1.73	1.81	1.91	n=50
5	1.85	1.64	1.83	1.88	1.80	n=95
6	1.78	1.75	1.74	1.73	1.75	n=96
7	1.63	1.50	1.79	1.78	1.58	n=68
8	1.58	1.45	1.61	1.63	1.67	n=88
9	1.37	1.50	1.64	1.58	1.80	n=45
	n=189	n=30	n=101	n=70	n=50	

Note. "Acc/Non" = Accepted/Nonaggressive; "Acc/Agg" = Accepted/ Aggressive; "Rej/Non" = Rejected/Nonaggressive; "Rej/Agg" = Rejected/ Aggressive; and "Unclass." = Unclassified. Numbers in table represent the mean score obtained for two stories. Scores ranged from 1 (a little bit) to 2 (a whole lot). Two-way ANOVA (Age x Peer Status) results indicated a significant main effect for age, $F(5,442)=7.746$, $p<.001$. The Mean Square Error was .127.

Table 9

Mean Intensity of Victimizers' Emotions by Age

	Age in Years					
	4	5	6	7	8	9
N	50	95	96	68	88	45
Mean	1.8300	1.8263	1.7552	1.6838	1.5852	1.5222
SD	.2964	.0306	.0363	.0431	.0444	.0572

Note. Post hoc analyses (Tukey) indicated significant differences ($p < .05$) between the following ages: 4 versus 8 and 9; 5 versus 8 and 9; and 6 versus 8 and 9.

Table 10

Mean Intensity of Victims' Emotions by Age and Peer Status

	Peer Status Group					
Age (yrs)	Acc/ Non	Acc/ Agg	Rej/ Non	Rej/ Agg	Un- class.	
4	1.68	1.63	1.81	1.63	1.86	n=50
5	1.86	1.86	1.83	1.63	1.60	n=95
6	1.88	1.90	1.78	1.75	1.88	n=97
7	1.79	2.00	1.82	1.78	1.75	n=68
8	1.83	1.95	1.76	1.93	1.83	n=88
9	1.87	2.00	1.91	1.67	1.70	n=45
	n=189	n=31	n=103	n=70	n=50	

Note. "Acc/Non" = Accepted/Nonaggressive; "Acc/Agg" = Accepted/ Aggressive; "Rej/Non" = Rejected/Nonaggressive; "Rej/Agg" = Rejected/Aggressive; and "Unclass." = Unclassified. Numbers in table represent the mean score obtained for two stories. Scores ranged from 1 (a little bit) to 2 (a whole lot). Two-way ANOVA (Age x Peer Status) results indicated no significant main effects for age or peer status.

Table 11

Judgments of Emotion Intensity of Victimizers and Victims

	Mean Ratings of Intensity		
	1.0	1.5	2.0
Victimizers	66	124	252
Victims	25	107	310

Note. Intensity ratings ranged from 1 (a little bit) to 2 (a whole lot). Chi Square analysis indicated significance in the mean intensity of emotions attributed to victimizers and victims, $\chi 2(4,442)=20.80450$, $p<.001$.

Table 12

Mean Rationale for Victimizers' Emotions by Age

	Age in Years					
Mean Ration.	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.0						
Obs.%	42.2	51.6	74.0	86.8	75.9	68.2
Exp.%	67.6	67.6	67.6	67.7	67.6	67.5
1.5						
Obs.%	31.1	28.4	17.7	10.3	14.9	20.5
Exp.%	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0
2.0						
Obs.%	26.7	18.9	8.3	2.9	6.9	6.8
Exp.%	11.3	11.3	11.3	11.3	11.3	11.4
2.5						
Obs.%	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	2.3	4.5
Exp.%	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1
3.0						
Obs.%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Exp.%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	n=45	n=95	n=96	n=68	n=87	n=44

Note. "Ration." represents rationale; "Obs.%" represents observed percentages; "Exp.%" represents expected percentages. For mean rationale ratings,

1=outcome orientation; 2=implied victimization; and 3=moral concerns. Chi Square analysis indicated significance, $\chi 2$ (15,435) = 53.204881, p<.001.

Table 13

Mean Rationale for Victimizers' Emotions by Peer Status

	Peer Status Groups				
Mean Ration.	Acc/Non	Acc/Agg	Rej/Non	Rej/Agg	Unclass.
1.0					
Obs.%	75.9	43.3	71.0	60.0	54.2
Exp.%	67.6	67.7	67.6	67.6	67.5
1.5					
Obs.%	15.0	40.0	16.0	22.9	31.3
Exp.%	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0
2.0					
Obs.%	8.0	16.7	11.0	15.7	14.6
Exp.%	11.3	11.3	11.3	11.3	11.3
2.5					
Obs.%	1.1	0.0	2.0	1.4	0.0
Exp.%	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.3
3.0					
Obs.%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Exp.%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	n=187	n=30	n=100	n=70	n=48

Note. "Acc/Non" = Accepted/Nonaggressive; "Acc/Agg" = Accepted/Aggressive; "Rej/Non" = Rejected/Nonaggressive; "Rej/Agg" = Rejected/Aggressive;

"Unclass." = Unclassified; "Ration." = rationale; "Obs.%" = observed percentages; and "Exp.%" = expected percentages. For mean rationale ratings, 1=outcome orientation; 2=implied victimization; and 3=moral concerns. Chi Square analysis indicated significance, $\chi 2(12,435)=24.88621$, $p<.05$.

Table 14

Mean Rationale for Victims' Emotions by Age

	Age in Years					
Mean Ration.	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.0						
Obs.%	2.1	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	2.3
Exp.%	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1
1.5						
Obs.%	14.9	10.5	16.7	20.6	20.5	25.0
Exp.%	17.5	17.4	17.4	17.4	17.4	17.3
2.0						
Obs.%	80.9	86.3	78.1	76.5	69.3	61.4
Exp.%	76.4	76.5	76.5	76.5	76.5	76.6
2.5						
Obs.%	2.1	3.2	2.1	2.9	9.1	6.8
Exp.%	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.3
3.0						
Obs.%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	4.5
Exp.%	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
	n=47	n=95	n=96	n=68	n=88	n=44

Note. "Ration." represents rationale; "Obs.%" represents observed percentages; "Exp.%" represents expected percentages. For mean rationale ratings,

1=outcome orientation; 2=implied victimization; and 3=moral concerns. Chi Square analysis indicated significance, $\chi 2(20,438)=34.85094$, $p<.05$.

Table 15

Mean Rationale for Victims' Emotions by Peer Status

	Peer Status Groups				
Mean Ration.	Acc/ Non	Acc/ Agg	Rej/ Non	Rej/ Agg	Unclass.
1.0					
Obs.%	5.0	0.0	2.0	1.4	2.0
Exp.%	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.2
1.5					
Obs.%	19.8	20.0	13.9	17.1	14.0
Exp.%	17.3	17.3	17.3	17.3	17.4
2.0					
Obs.%	76.5	70.0	78.2	72.9	82.0
Exp.%	76.5	76.3	76.4	76.4	76.4
2.5					
Obs.%	2.7	6.7	5.0	8.6	2.0
Exp.%	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.3	4.4
3.0					
Obs.%	5.0	3.3	1.0	0.0	0.0
Exp.%	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6
	n=187	n=30	n=101	n=70	n=50

Note. "Acc/Non" = Accepted/Nonaggressive; "Acc/Agg" = Accepted/ Aggressive; "Rej/Non" = Rejected/Nonaggressive; "Rej/Agg" = Rejected/Aggressive;

"Unclass." = Unclassified; "Ration." represents rationale; "Obs.%" represents observed percentages; "Exp.%" represents expected percentages. For mean rationale ratings, 1=outcome orientation; 2=implied victimization; and 3=moral concerns. Chi Square analysis indicated no significance, $\chi 2(16,438) = 15.53094$ (N.S.).

Table 16

Mean Rationales for Victimizers' and Victims' Emotions

	Mean Rationale Ratings				
	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	3.0
Victimizers	294	87	49	4	0
Victims	5	75	332	19	3

Note. 1 = outcome orientation; 2 = implied victimization; and 3 = moral concerns. Chi Square analysis indicated significance in the rationale for victimizers' and victims' emotions, $\chi 2(12, 434)=50.08110$, $p<.001$.

Table 17

Mean Level of Probe by Age and Peer Status

	Peer Status Group					
Age (yrs)	Acc/ Non	Acc/ Agg	Rej/ Non	Rej/ Agg	Un-class.	
4	4.11	3.75	3.73	4.29	3.77	n=49
5	3.90	3.64	3.96	3.58	4.05	n=95
6	3.77	3.90	4.09	3.78	3.58	n=95
7	3.40	0.00	3.35	3.89	3.92	n=66
8	3.17	3.11	3.32	3.27	3.50	n=84
9	2.89	2.88	3.09	3.83	3.50	n=45
	n=186	n=29	n=103	n=67	n=49	

Note. "Acc/Non" = Accepted/Nonaggressive; "Acc/Agg" = Accepted/ Aggressive; "Rej/Non" = Rejected/Nonaggressive; "Rej/Agg" = Rejected/Aggressive; "Unclass" = Unclassified. Higher mean scores indicate that more directive probing was necessary. Numbers in the table represent the mean score obtained for two stories. Two-way ANOVA (age x peer status) results indicated a significant main effect for age, $F(5,434)=8.144$, $p<.001$; Mean Square Error = .912.

Table 18

Mean Probe Level by Age

	Age in Years					
	4	5	6	7	8	9
Count	49	95	95	66	84	45
Mean	3.9286	3.8737	3.8105	3.5000	3.2321	3.1333
SD	1.3189	1.0313	1.0599	.6961	.6374	.8285

Note. Post hoc analyses (Tukey) indicated significant differences ($p < .05$) between the following ages: 4 versus 8 and 9; 5 versus 8 and 9; and 6 versus 8 and 9.

Table 19

Mean Rationale for Probe by Age

Mean Ration.		Age in Years 4	5	6	7	8	9
1.0	Obs%	3.8	3.2	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0
	Exp%	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
1.5	Obs%	3.8	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.3	2.6
	Exp%	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.3
2.0	Obs%	7.7	4.8	4.1	6.8	3.8	12.8
	Exp%	5.8	5.9	6.0	5.9	5.8	5.9
2.5	Obs%	7.7	1.6	4.1	6.8	6.3	10.3
	Exp%	5.6	5.6	5.5	5.6	5.6	5.6
3.0	Obs%	38.5	54.0	47.3	37.3	29.1	38.5
	Exp%	40.8	41.0	41.0	40.9	40.9	40.8
3.5	Obs%	23.1	15.9	24.3	23.7	26.6	7.7
	Exp%	21.2	21.1	21.2	21.2	21.2	21.1
4.0	Obs%	15.4	12.7	9.5	16.9	21.5	17.9
	Exp%	15.8	15.6	15.6	15.6	15.6	15.6
4.5	Obs%	0.0	3.2	2.7	1.7	5.1	5.1
	Exp%	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.3
5.0	Obs%	0.0	4.8	6.8	3.4	6.3	5.1
	Exp%	5.0	5.1	5.0	5.1	5.1	5.1

Note. "Obs%" represents observed percentages; "Exp%" represents expected percentages; "Ration." represents rationale. For mean rationale ratings, 1,2 = self-focused rationale; 3,4, and 5 = other-focused rationale. Chi Square analysis indicated no significance, $\chi 2\,(40,340)= 40.08095$ (N.S.).

Table 20

Mean Rationale for Probe by Peer Status

Mean Ration.		Peer Status Groups				
		Acc/ Non	Acc/ Agg	Rej/ Non	Rej/ Agg	Unclass
1.0	Obs%	1.9	4.3	1.4	0.0	0.0
	Exp%	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.5
1.5	Obs%	0.0	4.3	1.4	3.8	0.0
	Exp%	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.2
2.0	Obs%	6.4	8.7	4.1	7.5	2.9
	Exp%	5.9	6.1	6.0	5.9	5.9
2.5	Obs%	6.4	8.7	5.4	3.8	2.9
	Exp%	5.6	5.7	5.5	5.7	5.6
3.0	Obs%	36.5	39.1	50.0	47.2	32.4
	Exp%	40.9	40.9	41.0	40.9	40.9
3.5	Obs%	23.7	4.3	14.9	22.6	32.8
	Exp%	21.2	21.3	21.2	21.1	21.2
4.0	Obs%	16.0	21.7	16.2	9.4	17.6
	Exp%	15.6	15.7	15.5	15.7	15.6
4.5	Obs%	3.8	4.3	2.7	3.8	0.0
	Exp%	3.2	3.0	3.2	3.2	3.2
5.0	Obs%	5.1	4.3	4.1	1.9	11.8
	Exp%	5.0	5.2	5.0	5.1	5.0

Note. "Acc/Non" = Accepted/Nonaggressive; "Acc/Agg" = Accepted/ Aggressive; "Rej/Non" = Rejected/Nonaggressive; "Rej/Agg" = Rejected/Aggressive; and "Unclass" = Unclassified. "Obs%" represents observed percentages; "Exp%" represents expected percentages. For mean rationale ratings, 1,2 = self-focused rationale; 3,4, and 5 = other-focused rationale. Chi Square analysis indicated no significance, $\chi 2(32,340)= 31.05605$ (N.S.).

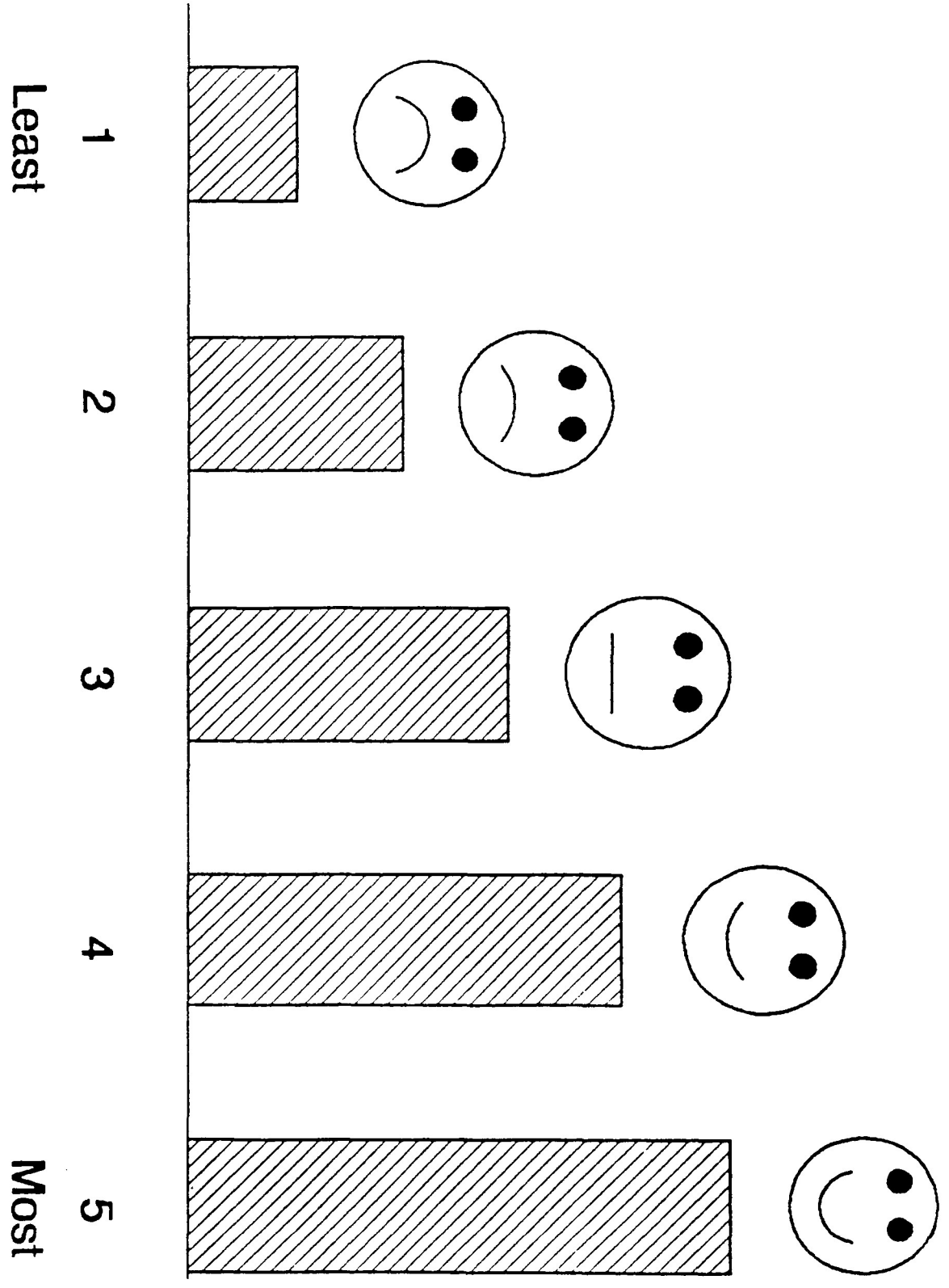

Figure 1. Sociometric Scale.

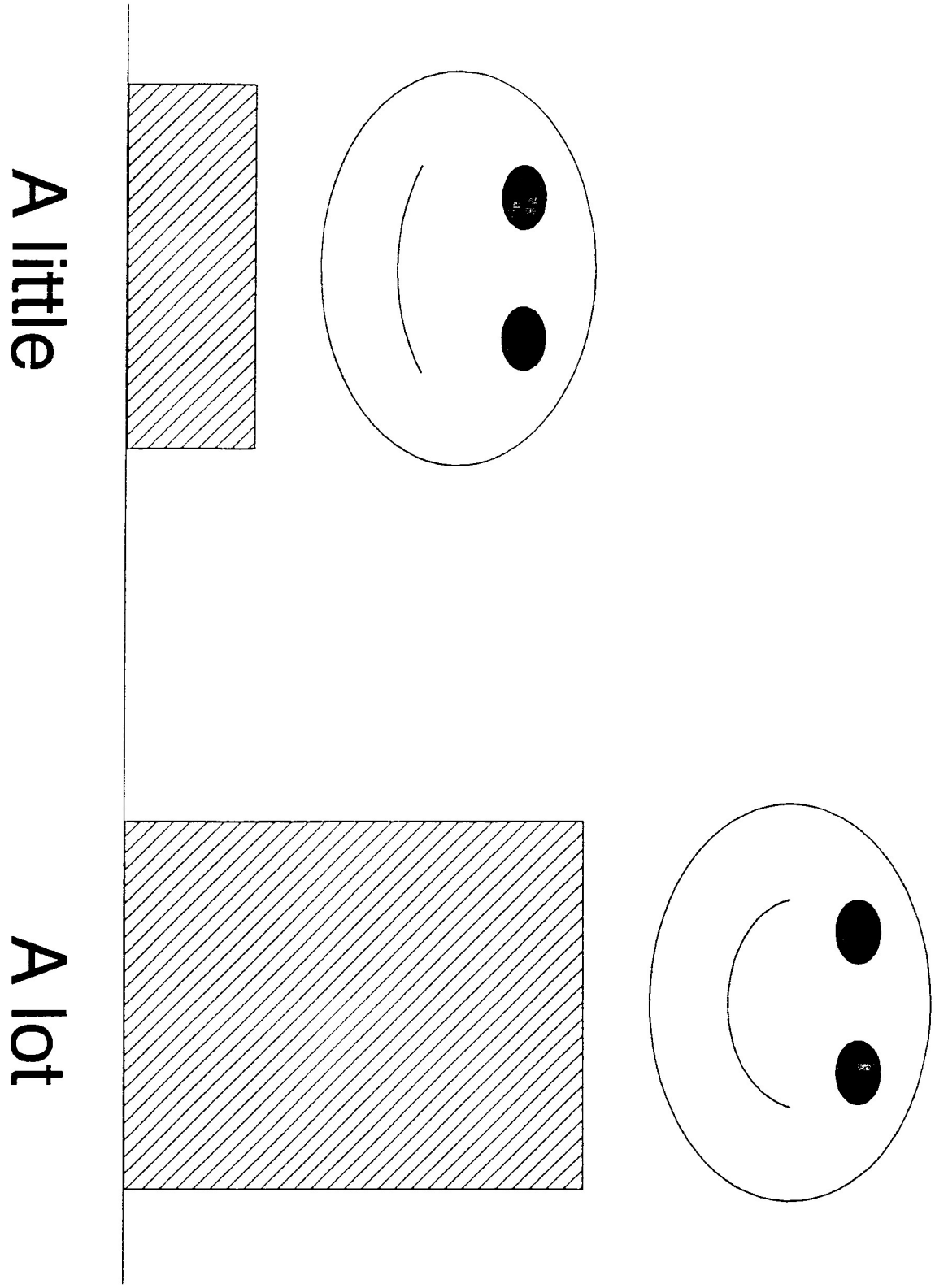

Figure 2. Intensity Scale for Positive Emotions.

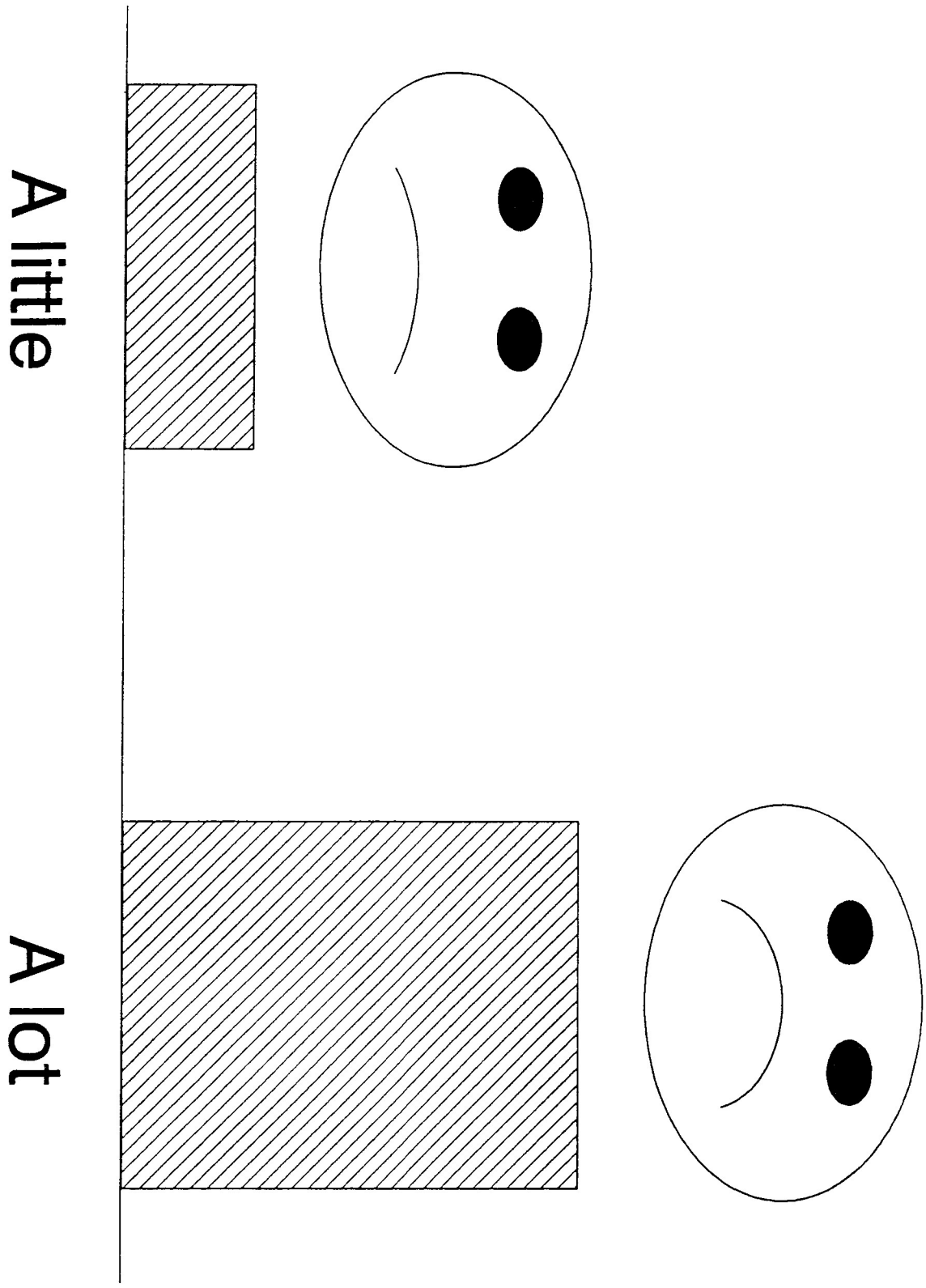

Figure 3. Intensity Scale for Negative Emotions.

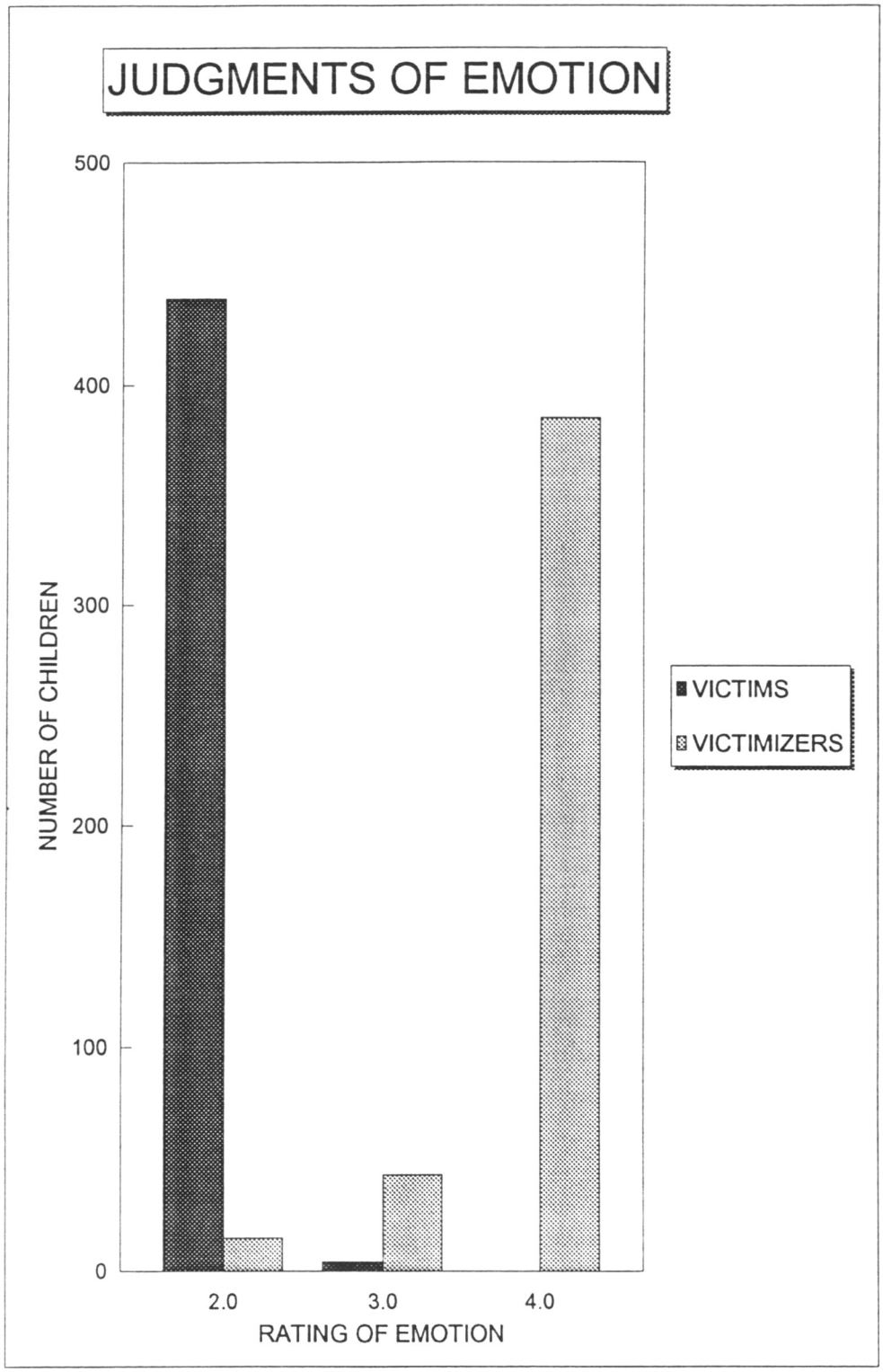

Figure 4. Judgments of emotion of victimizers and victims.

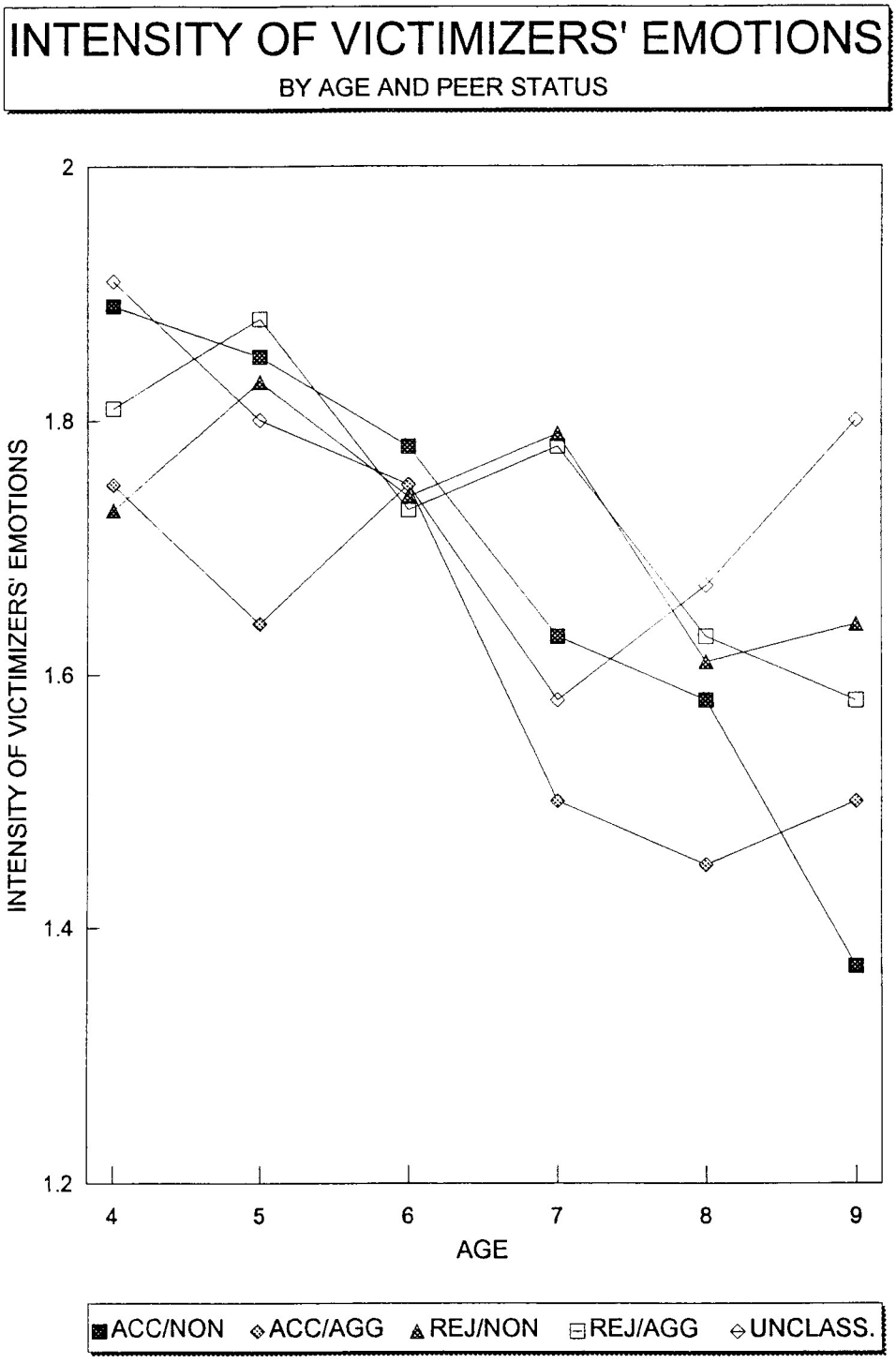

Figure 5. Judgments of emotion intensity by age and peer status.

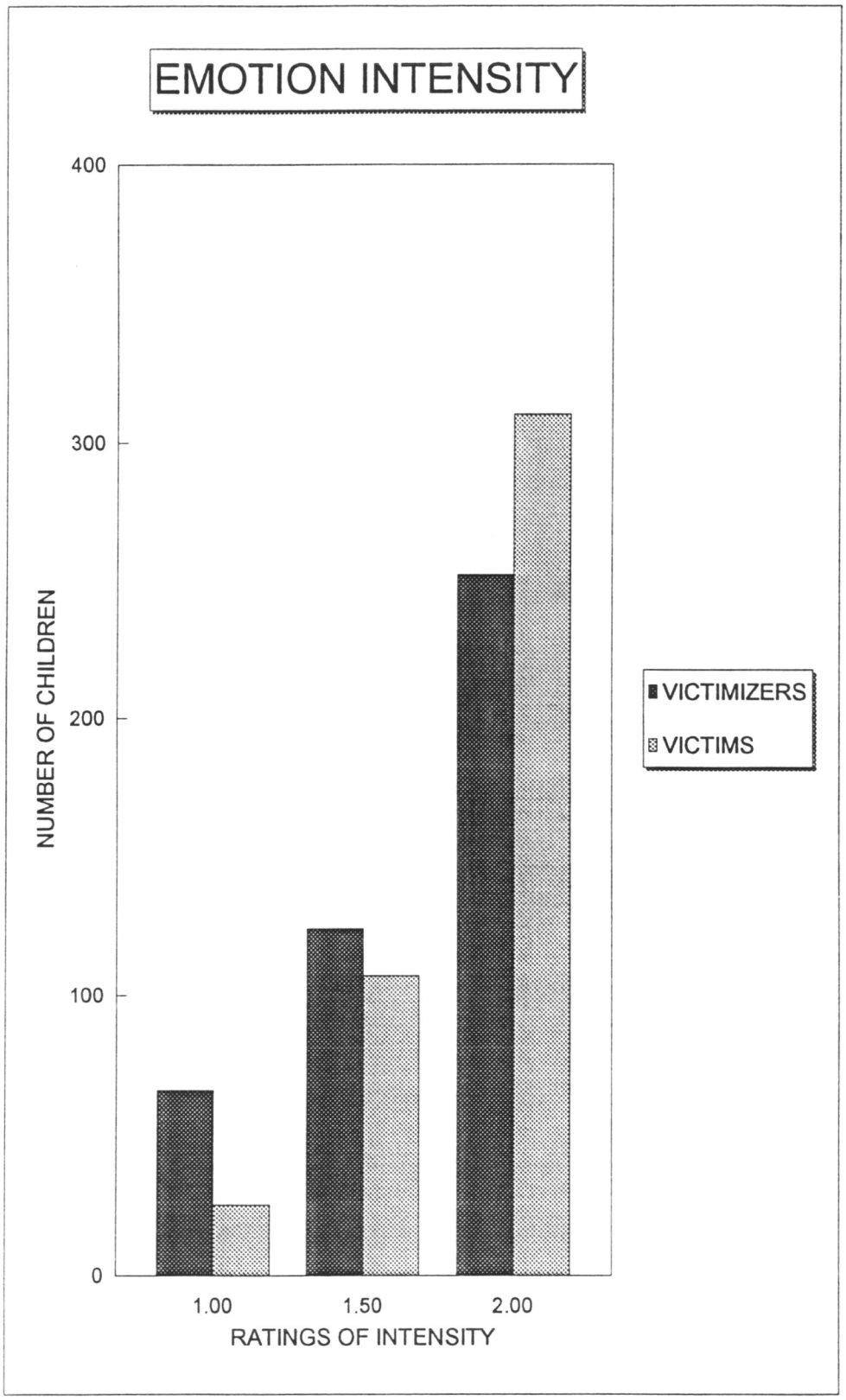

Figure 6. Judgments of emotion intensity of victimizers and victims.

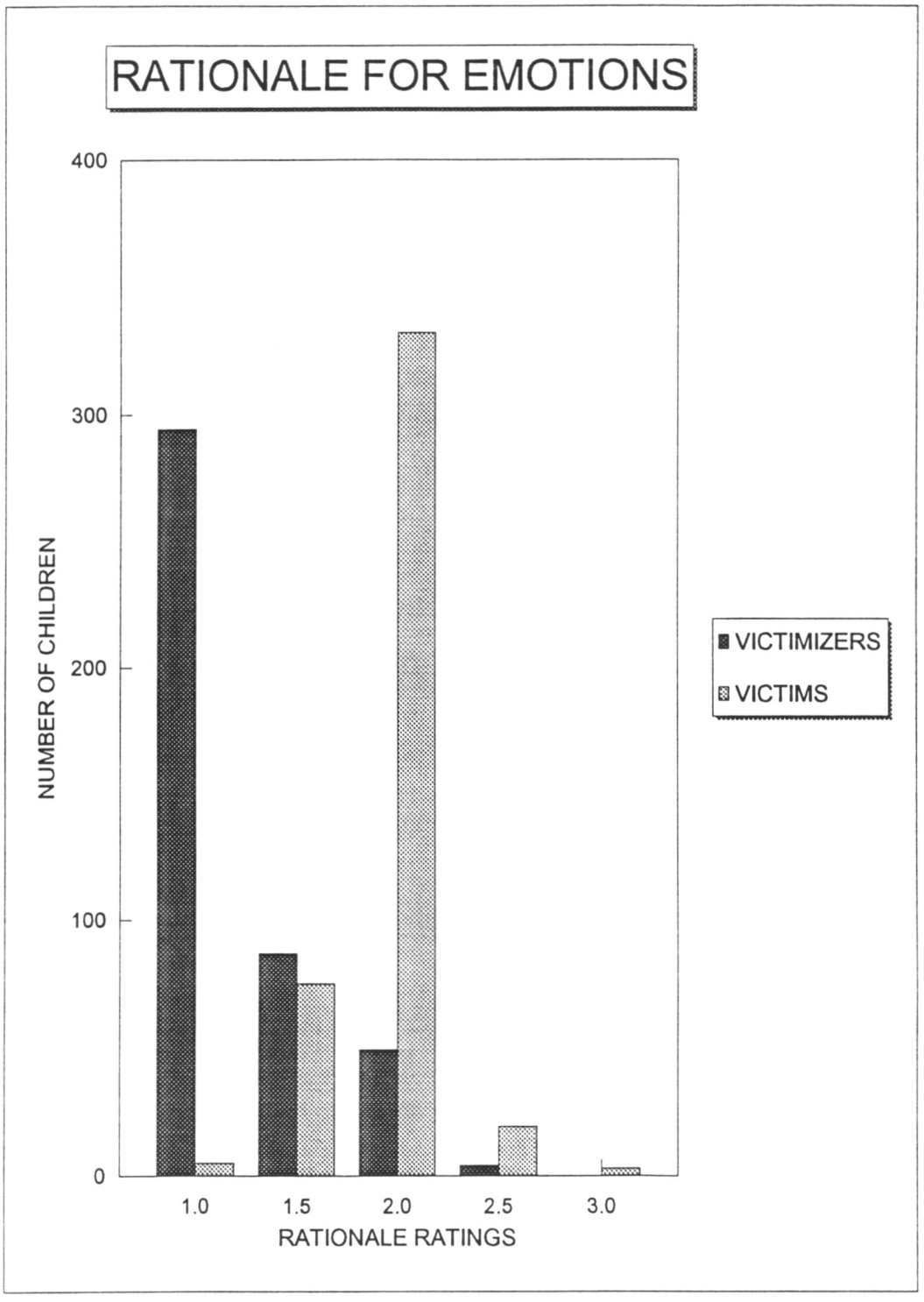

Figure 7. Rationale for victimizers' and victims' emotions.

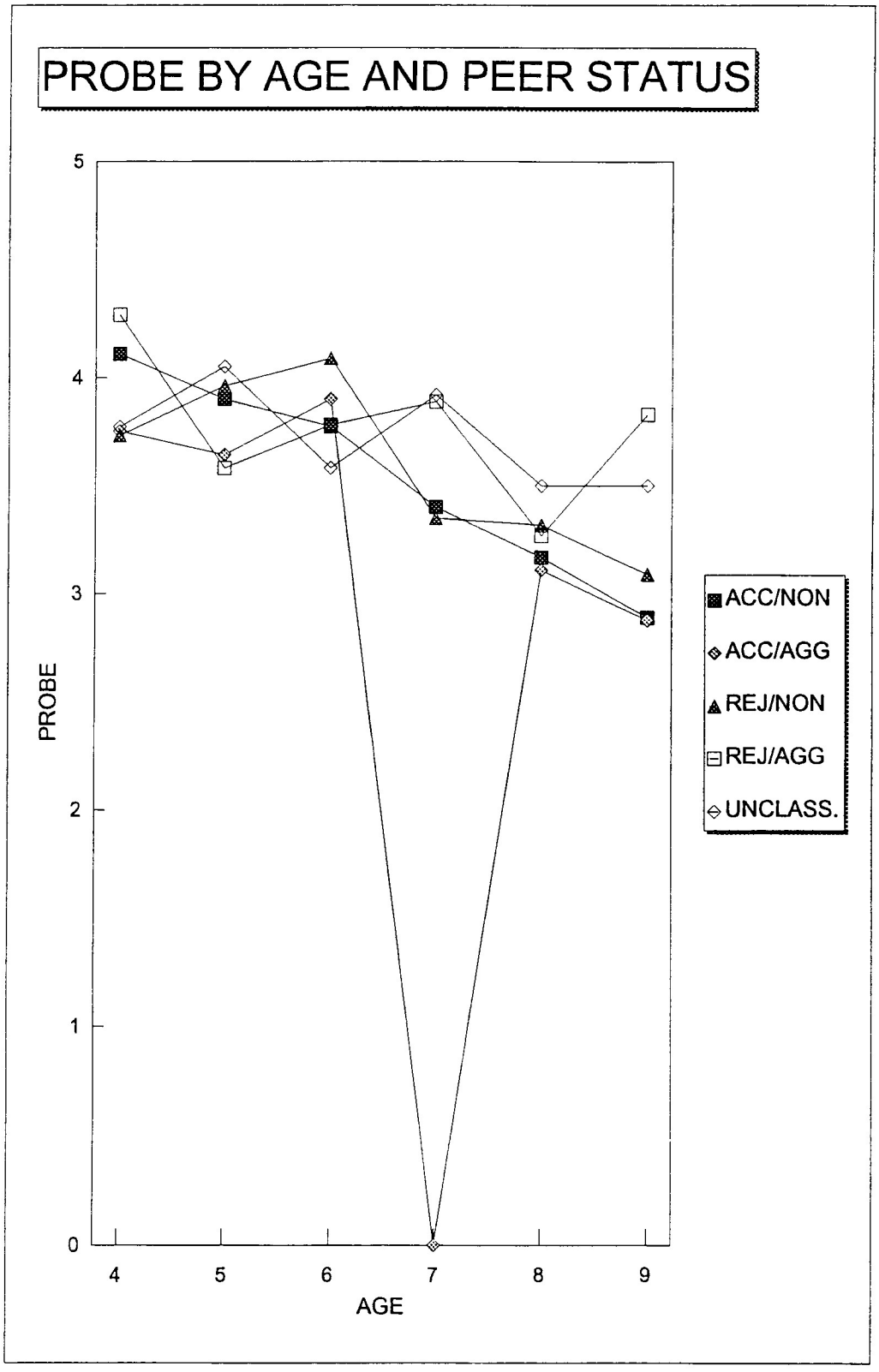

Figure 8. Level of probe required as a function of age and peer status.